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THE SECOND COUNCIL OF LYONS AND THE MENDICANT ORDERS[1]

By

RICHARD W. EMERY

The tendency of historians to treat the mendicant movement in terms of the two great orders, Franciscan and Dominican, has been a natural one. They *were* the two great orders; many who have studied mendicant history have been their members, and many others have entered the field through the interest excited by St. Dominic, or, more especially, St. Francis. Since the smaller orders have received relatively little attention, and since the Second Council of Lyons took no action that seemed to affect directly the Dominicans or the Franciscans, the importance of that council for mendicant history has been largely overlooked.

We are concerned here with one conciliar decree only—***Religionum diversitatem,*** adopted at the sixth and final session of the council on July 17, 1274.[2] Its terms were clear and unequivocal. Reviewing the prohibition of new orders by the Lateran Council of 1215, it noted that many new orders, especially mendicant orders, had nonetheless been established since that date. The prohibition of new orders was renewed. All orders formed since 1215 without express papal approbation were to disband immediately. Orders formed since 1215 with papal approval, but which rejected ownership of property and incomes, and whose members drew their livelihood from public begging, were to be suppressed gradually. No novices were to be received and no new convents founded; the friars might neither preach, hear confessions, nor grant sepulture to the laity. The property of such orders was reserved to the Holy See for eventual sale, the proceeds being devoted to pious uses. General license was granted for the friars of such orders to transfer into other approved religious bodies, but no order or convent might be so transferred as a unit without papal permission. The Dominicans and Franciscans were expressly exempted from this decree because of their evident utility to the Church; the Carmelites and Augustinian friars were provisionally exempted pending a future decision by the Pope.

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[1] The present essay represents a revision and enlargement of a paper read before the American Catholic Historical Association in Boston on December 30, 1949. Mr. Emery is assistant professor of history in Queens College of the City of New York.

[2] Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles,* VI, i, 180, 200-202; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* XXIV. 96-97.

This decree inaugurated something of a new policy. Up to 1274, the popes in general had shown not only great favor to the mendicants, but also a marked readiness to approve new orders. Now, for the first time, the Church moved to suppress religious orders founded with papal approbation. The basic cause for this shift in policy seems clear: the success of the Dominicans and the Franciscans had led to the establishment of additional mendicant orders, and even to the adoption of mendicant characteristics by some orders already in existence. Opposition to the mendicants had long been present in a part of the secular clergy, and must have been aggravated by the appearance of more and more orders—the "confusion of orders" lamented by Matthew Paris. [3]

But it would be an error to seek the cause of this conciliar decree in the anti-mendicant sentiments of a clerical party alone, however much such sentiments may have made its adoption feasible. The new orders were offering competition—and by no means negligible competition—to the two great orders. The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene throws light upon this as upon so much else in early mendicant history. He complained that "we and the Dominicans have taught all men to be beggars," and he discussed in some detail three of the new orders, showing himself remarkably unsympathetic in each case. He regarded the new groups as imitators of the original mendicants, and he took delight in tales of their establishment by friars refused admittance into, or even expelled from, the Franciscan Order.[4] But we need not attribute such antipathy exclusively to competition. Sober Dominicans and Franciscans must have feared that the growing numbers of mendicants would further inflame clerical opposition to all the friars. They may also have feared that an extremist group such as the Apostolic Friars (singled out for especially bitter attack by Salimbene) would discredit all the medicants. And it might well have been asked whether the utility of the friars to the Church was best served by the dissipation of their energy into a number of rival orders, or whether any good purpose called for eight separate mendicant convents in Paris, or seven in London and Toulouse, as was the case in 1274.

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[3] *Chronica majora* (Rolls Series), V, 612. The relations of the mendicants with the secular clergy has been treated too often to require discussion here. Cf. especially A. Van de Wyngaert, "Querelles du clergé séculier et des ordres mendiants," *La France franciscaine*, V (1922), 257-281, 369-396; VI (1923), 47-70; P. Gratien, "Ordres mendiants et clergé séculier à la fin du XIII^e siècle," *Études franciscaines*, XXXVI (1924), 499-518; P. Glorieux, "Prélats français contre religieux mendiants," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, XI (1925), 309-331, 471-495.

The first formal suggestion that the council take steps to restrict the rising tide of mendicancy, indeed, seems to have come from a Dominican source. In 1273 Gregory X invited all prelates and generals of orders to submit proposals for conciliar action. One of the extant replies was the *Opus tripartitum* of Humbert de Romans, master general of the Dominicans from 1254 to 1263. In this work, Humbert spoke of the multitude of mendicants as an evil requiring correction and he expressed fears lest the friars increase in number beyond the sustaining capacity of the laity. Although he offered no specific suggestions for dealing with the problem, he clearly felt that some check should be imposed upon the expansion of the friars.[5]

Now this was not at all the program of the anti-mendicant party among the secular clergy. This party was, rather, interested primarily in curbing the privileges of the two great orders. Its clamor on the eve of the council was sufficient to alarm the Pope, who urged the

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[4] *Cronica,* ed. O. Holder-Egger [*Monumenta Germaniae historica: scriptores,* XXXII], 254-294.

[5] *Opus tripartitum,* ed. E. Browne, in *Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* (London, 1690), II, 185-228 (III, cap. iii, "De religiosis"). The short version of this work printed in Mansi (XXIV, 130) is more emphatic: "Primo, quod religiones mendicantium minuerentur."

Dominican and Franciscan generals to allay criticism by voluntary concessions. In response to this request, the two generals actually drew up, and had approved by the Pope, a ten-point program designed to ease the tension between the friars and the secular clergy.[6] Though it had little lasting effect, it may well have helped to block conciliar action against the two great orders. For the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the council may, indeed, be considered no mean triumph. Their privileges were left untouched, their value to the Church was lauded, and their competitors were either left dangling in suspense, or were suppressed outright.

The significance of the decree *Religionum diversitatem* becomes clear only when the various orders affected by it are examined in turn.

The Carmelite Order, originally a hermit group in Palestine, had been transplanted to western Europe in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, as the Christian position in the Holy Land deteriorated. At first its members continued an heremetical life in the West, but in 1247 Innocent IV approved a mitigation of their rule along mendicant lines, drawn up by two Dominican prelates.[7] The expansion of this order, and indeed all of its early history, still awaits careful study, but it would appear to have shown steady, though by no means phenomenal, growth up to 1274. It was quite strong in England and moderately strong in France, but had only a few scattered houses elsewhere in Europe. The effect of the conciliar decree, leaving the fate of the order undetermined, was to check its further growth for more than a decade. It must have rendered it difficult for the Carmelites to attract either novices or lay patrons. The seriousness of the order's position may be seen in the appeal of its general, Pierre de Millau, to Edward I of England in 1282; comparing the plight of the Carmelites to that of the Hebrews in bondage in Egypt, he begged the king's intervention at Rome to secure a definitive approval of the order.[8] Such approval, however, was not obtained until

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[6] Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs,* II, 97-102; B. Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae magistrorum generalium* [*Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum,* V], pp. 96-100.

[7] E. Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV,* #3288; Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum,* #12679.

[8] P. R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars* (Dublin, 1926), pp. 120-124. Lancelot C. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites* (London, 1943), p. 18, and "The Origin of the Carmelites," *Downside Review,* LXVIII (1950), 72, is in error in asserting that the council gave definitive approval to the Carmelite Order.

1286 under Pope Honorius IV.[9]

Much the same may be said of the Augustinian friars, an order formed in 1256 by the union of several Italian hermit groups, some of which had already developed mendicant tendencies.[10] The union, approved by Alexander IV, was mendicant in character, with an organization patterned closely upon that of the Dominicans. Though strong in Italy, this order was relatively weak north of the Alps at the time of the council, though its expansion was well under way. Salimbene tells us that Gregory X had intended to suppress it at Lyons, but had postponed doing so out of deference to its aged protector, Richard Cardinal Annibaldi, and had then died before putting his plan into effect.[11] Like the Carmelites, the Augustinian friars were checked only temporarily by the council. This order seems to have been the most rapidly growing mendicant group in the early fourteenth century.[12]

Of the orders that had received papal approbation, only two can be shown to have been actually suppressed after the council: the Friars of the Sack,[13] and the Friars of the Blessed Mary, or Pied Friars.[14] Both were founded around the middle of the century in Provence, at Hyères and Marseilles respectively, the former at least evolving out of a group of hermits, and both were approved (in 1251 and in 1257) by Alexander IV. The Pied Friars were a small group, undistinguished, with a dozen or more houses scattered over western Europe, but the Friars of the Sack showed a very rapid growth from 1251 to 1274, especially in France, England, and Italy; this was probably the third ranking mendicant order in size at the time of the council.[15] Both orders had adopted the rule of St. Augustine, and the Friars of the Sack had copied their constitutions almost verbatim from the Dominicans. Many of their houses disappeared soon after 1274, but a few lingered on into the fourteenth century: the Sack convent at Marseilles was still operating in 1316,[16] and the prior of the Pied Friars of Cambridge appeared as late as 1319.[17] Many friars of these orders passed into other groups, sometimes entire convents doing so. It is interesting to note that, although the conciliar decree was only enacted on July 17, 1274, and not published by Pope Gregory until November 1, the Dominican provincial chapter of Provence, meeting on July 22 at Toulouse, warned against wholesale admissions into their order of unqualified friars from the suppressed groups.[18]

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[9] M. Prou, *Registres d'Honorius IV*, #305; Potthast, #22387.

[10] C. Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, #1301; *Analecta Augustiniana*, V (1913), 1-4. For the early history of this order see the recent work of F. Roth, "Cardinal Richard Annibaldi," *Augustiniana* (1952), pp. 26-60, 108-149, 230-247; (1953) pp. 21-34, and the older and less reliable study of E. van Moé, "Recherches sur les Erémites de Saint-Augustin entre 1250 et 1340," *Revue des questions historiques*, CXVI (1932), 274-315.

[11] *Cronica, loc. cit.*, p. 255. Stephan Kuttner has shown that the original draft of the decree *Religionum diversitatem* was less favorable to the Augustinians and the Carmelites than was the final version; see his article, "Conciliar Law in the Making: The Lyonese Constitutions (1274) of Gregory X in a Manuscript at Washington," *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* (Rome, 1949), II, 74.

[12] Van Moé (*op. cit.*) concluded that Augustinian expansion north of the Alps was great in the thirteenth century but much slower in the early fourteenth. The reverse seems to have been the case.

[13] For this order see A. G. Little, "The Friars of the Sack," *English Historical Review*, IX (January, 1894), 121-127; H. F. Chettle, "The Friars of the Sack in England," *Downside Review*, LXIII (October, 1945), 239-251; R. W. Emery, "The Friars of the Sack," *Speculum*, XVIII (July, 1943), 323-324, and note in *Downside Review*, LXIX (1951), 520-521.

[14] See R. W. Emery, "The Friars of the Blessed Mary and the Pied Friars," *Speculum*, XXVI (April, 1949), 228-238.

The Order of the Holy Cross, whose members were known in England as Crutched, Crouched, or Crossed Friars, in France as *Croisiers,* and are today known as Crosier Fathers, is an especially interesting case. It is first encountered in a series of bulls issued by Innocent IV in 1247 and 1248, approving it as an order, with the rule of St. Augustine and *quasdam institutiones* of the Dominicans. At that time, it appears to have had only two settlements: at Huy, near Liège, and at Whaplode, in the Diocese of Lincoln.[19] It must be concluded, on the basis of present evidence, that these bulls are the first traces of a small group, non-mendicant and non-urban in character, moving toward mendicancy under Dominican influence—as were the Carmelites, Augustinians, and Friars of the Sack at the same time. The Crutched Friars were certainly regarded as mendicants in the thirteenth century, and had a typically mendicant provincial organization.[20] Only five lasting foundations appear to have been made between 1247 and 1274, all in urban centers (Namur, Toulouse, Paris, London, and Liège); the house at Whaplode was abandoned.[21]

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[15] Such at least is the judgment of the present writer. It is probably true that the Augustinian Friars exceeded the Sack Friars in number of foundations (108 Sack Friar convents can now be listed), but many Augustinian houses were mere hermitages. It is certainly true that the Friars of the Sack were the most rapidly growing of the lesser orders in the two decades prior to the council of 1274.

[16] Coulon, *Jean XXII: Lettres secrètes et curiales relatives à la France,* #1155.

[17] *Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire,* II, 287.

[18] C. Douais, *Acta capitulorum provincialium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum* (Toulouse, 1894), p. 187: "Item, admonemus ne fratres ordinum nunc in generali concilio cassatorum ad nostrum ordinem recipiantur, nisi bene ydonei et apti, ne ordo inutilibus hominibus honoretur."

After 1274, the Crutched Friars seem to have evolved into an order of canons regular—a rather easy way to avoid suppression, particularly for a small group far from Rome. This may well explain the confusion among modern authorities on this order's classification. Knowles in 1940 listed it among the mendicants, but noted under its London house: "The original settlement was in 1249 and was not of long duration. Another settlement was made in 1298 by a group more nearly approximating Augustinian canons."[22] The facts here are not exact, for this house had a continuous history from at least 1270,[23] but the evolution did take place. As early as 1277 the privileges of the motherhouse at Huy were confirmed by Innocent V, and this was repeated by Martin IV in 1284.[24] In both these bulls, however, the form of address was that normally used by the curia for a house of Augustinian canons, and they contained no suggestion that this was the motherhouse of an order—much less a mendicant order.

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[19] The bull of confirmation is dated May 21, 1247, in Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, #2708, and is addressed to the prior and friars of the Order of Holy Cross, Diocese of Liège. But already, on April 1, 1247, Innocent had approved the establishment of this order at Whaplode; see K. Major, "An Unknown House of Crutched Friars at Whaplode," *Reports and Papers of the Architectural and Archeological Societies of the County of Lincoln and the County of Northampton*, XLI, Part 2 (1933), 149-154. The basic work on this order is C. R. Hermans, *Annales canonicorum regularium S. Augustini, ordinis S. Crucis* (Silvae-Ducis, 1858), 3 vols. See also E. Beck, "The Order of the Holy Cross (Crutched Friars) in England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, VII (1913), 191-208; H. F. Chettle, "The Friars of Holy Cross in England," *History*, XXXIV (October, 1949), 204-220. For a recent popular treatment, see V. A. Yzermans, "The Crosier Fathers," *Catholic Digest*, XII (June, 1948), 24-26.

[20] Houses of this order are regularly listed in wills with other mendicant establishments. An act of the Toulouse convent dated 1258 shows a layman handling the house's finances (*Archives départementales de l'Haute-Garonne, Fonds de Sainte-Croix*, série H, liasse 1).

[21] Another house seems to have been founded at Welnetham in Suffolk in 1274 (Chettle, *op. cit.*, p. 211). Chettle (*op. cit.*, p. 209) dates the Colchester house from this period, but Beck (*op. cit.*, p. 203) puts it more plausibly in the fifteenth century. The date of 1236 often given for the convent at Tournai arose from a misreading of the date 1296 in a manuscript (see Hermans, *op. cit.*, II, 95).

All modern accounts accept without question the foundation of the Order of the Holy Cross by a canon of Liège, Théodore de Celles, in 1211, and its "verbal" approval by Innocent III in 1215. Documentary evidence, however, is totally lacking prior to 1247, and no such canon of Liège has been identified. We must presume that the order's approval came from Innocent IV, not Innocent III. It seems likely, further, that the dates of 1211 and 1215 represent an attempt by the order to establish its exemption from the decree of 1274, which applied only to orders founded since 1215. That the founder was a canon of Liège can certainly not be categorically denied, but, until further evidence is forthcoming, it must be regarded as possible that he was made a canon of Liège after 1274 to emphasize the canon regular nature the order was then assuming.[25] As an order of canons regular, it still exists.

The Williamite Friars were a part of an Italian hermit group organized in the region of Siena and Pisa, probably in the late twelfth century, and which adopted the Benedictine rule after, apparently,

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[22] David Knowles, *Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London, 1940), p. 117.

[23] The house is twice mentioned in 1270 (*Liberate Rolls,* 53 Henry III, m.6; *Close Rolls, 1268-1272,* p. 232) and again in 1291 (J. Hunter-Blaine, "On the Death of Eleanor of Castille," *Archeologia,* XXIX [1842], 179). There seems to be no evidence for the 1249 date; both Chettle and Beck date the house 1298.

[24] Hermans, *op. cit.,* II, 83-84.

[25] The legend that Theodore had worked with St. Dominic against the Albigensian heretics probably had its origin in the Dominican influence on the order's constitutions, together with a late tradition that the Toulouse house of Crutched Friars had been founded in 1218. This last tradition, in turn, may have been based upon the fact that when this convent acquired a plot of land in 1258, they acquired with it a single act of 1218 showing the seller's title to the property; on the reverse of this document is written in an early modern hand the statement that the convent was founded in 1218 by Theodore de Celles. (*Archives départementales de l'Haute-Garonne, loc. cit.*)

1215. A section of this group entered the Augustinian Order in the union of 1256, but the larger part balked at so doing, and was confirmed as a separate order in that same year by Alexander IV.[26] The Williamites early developed expansionist tendencies, and had several houses in the German lands before 1250, some of which were lost to the Augustinians after 1256.[27] By 1274, however, the Williamites had made additional foundations in Germany, the Low Countries, and northern France—for the most part in urban centers (such as Paris, Bruges, Nivelles, and Freiburg-im-Breisgau). The Parisian poet Rutebeuf bracketed them with the Augustinians, and noted with irony their abandonment of the heremetical life.[28] That the Williamites felt themselves threatened by the decree of 1274 is certain, for early in 1275 they took the trouble to procure a letter from a cardinal offering the opinion that their order did not come under that legislation.[29] The cardinal who so obliged them was Jacopo Savelli, who in 1286, as Pope Honorius IV, formally approved the order,[30] which persisted as a small body, non-mendicant in character, until the eighteenth century.

The Friars of the Penitence of the Martyrs were approved as an order by Alexander IV in 1256.[31] The history of this order is obscure, but it apparently began in Germany. It was known in France and in England before 1274, and had a house in Rome, but its only lasting establishments were in Poland and Bohemia. After 1274 the order disappeared in the West; its house at Rome was either suppressed or abandoned. But in the East, the order evolved, like the Crutched Friars, into canons regular—though an act of the seventeenth century spoke of them still as "mendicant canons." By the eighteenth century, this order preserved only vague and distorted traditions that it had once been spread over western Europe—traditions ridiculed as groundless by the good Father Helyot.[32]

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[26] Bourel de la Roncière, *loc. cit.*, #1451-2; Potthast, #16528, 16531.

[27] L. Torelli, *Secoli agostiniani* (Bologna, 1675), IV, 724-729; see also *Analecta Augustiniani*, I (1905-6), 289-293, and XIII (1929-1930), 520-521; W. Rein, "Der Wilhelmiterorden in den sächsichen Ländern," *Archiv für die sächsiche Geschichte*, III (1865), 187-202. The most accurate account of this order's early history is in Roth, *op. cit.* in note 10, pp. 121-123, 240-244.

[28] A. Jubinal, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* (Paris, 1874-1875), I, 201, 206-207.

[29] P. Ladewig and T. Müller, *Regesta episcoporum Constantensium* (Innsbruck, 1895), I, 274.

[30] *Ibid.*, I, 302; Prou, *Registres d'Honorius IV*, #373, 436-441.

[31] Bourel de la Roncière, *op. cit.*, #1310. The only available secondary account of this order is the unsatisfactory treatment of P. Helyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux* (Paris, 1847-1859), II, 952-957. Torelli (*op. cit.*, IV, 159, 315-316, 590) is hopelessly confused. These friars were mentioned briefly by the Franciscan Eccleston (very unsympathetically); see A. G. Little, *Tractatus fr. Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston* (Paris, 1909), p. 131. Little noted that the order was licensed for a house at Guildford, County Surrey, in 1260 (*Close Rolls, 1259-1261*, p. 51), and said mistakenly that it was not mentioned by Helyot. A short contemporary poem on these friars is printed in *Monumenta Germaniae historica: scriptores*, XXV, 358. See also Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* (Bologna, 1900 ff.), XVI, iii, 60-61.

One order threatened by the legislation of 1274 survived with great difficulty, perhaps because of its proximity to Rome. The Servite Order took form in Florence in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and was approved as an order by Alexander IV in 1256.[33] From the traditions of the order, it was connected with St. Peter Martyr, who was certainly active in Florence at that time, and we may thus suspect Dominican influences here also. Despite later Servite claims of early expansion into France and Germany, there seems to be no real evidence for any Servite establishment outside of Italy before 1274, though one or two in Germany are possible. This was a very small order. Innocent V apparently ruled in 1276 that the Servites fell under the conciliar prohibition.[34] In 1277 the Servites obtained *consilia* from three jurists of the papal curia, all favorable to the continuance of the order on the ground that its constitutions did not forbid holding property and rents.[35] The order continued to operate, but its position was highly dubious, and as late as 1287 the Bishop of Foligno rebuked the Servites for receiving novices in violation of the decree of 1274.[36] After the accession of Honorius IV in 1285, the Servites campaigned for recognition at Rome. We have an account of the moneys spent at Rome by their general in 1286, including several payments to jurists.[37] A number of new *consilia* were obtained (including one from the well known Bologna canonist, Master Garsias).[38] All judged that this order did not fall under the conciliar ban—or at least all that the order chose to preserve so judged—mostly on the same reasoning as those obtained in 1277. One doctor of laws, however, offered the very questionable argument that since the Servites had taken the rule of St. Augustine, their order in effect antedated 1215; had this been a valid view, neither the Friars of the Sack nor the Pied Friars should have been affected by the decree. The Servites carried their point at Rome, and a series of bulls issued by Honorius IV in 1286 and 1287 removed the threat to the order's continuance.[39]

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[32] The bull of 1256 cited above mentioned the Church of St. Mary de Metro in Rome, whose very existence Helyot denied. For this church, whose name is apparently a corruption of *Demetrius,* see R. Krautheimer and Wolfgang Frankel, "Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome," *American Journal of Archeology,* XLIII (1939), 388-400.

[33] Bourel de la Roncière, *op. cit.,* #1246; an earlier bull, in 1255 (*ibid.,* #516) shows the mendicant basis of this order, stating the friars did not possess *aliqua immobilia,* and were sustained solely by the alms of the faithful. Some materials for Servite history have been gathered in A. Morini and P. Soulier, *Monumenta ordinis servorum Sanctae Mariae* (Brussels, 1897-1901), 4 vols., but the historian must still employ A. Giani, *Annalium sacri ordinis fratrum Servorum B. Mariae Virginis* (Lucca, 1719-1725), 5 vols.

[34] P. Soulier, *Life of Saint Philip Benizi* (London, 1886), p. 315. M.-H. Laurent, *Le Bienheureux Innocent V et son temps* (Vatican City, 1947), pp. 349-350, has recently questioned the adverse ruling of Innocent V on the Servites in 1276, but on what seem highly insufficient grounds. The loss of this Pope's registers prevents complete certainty on this point.

Thus the action of the Second Council of Lyons resulted in the suppression of fewer orders than might have been hopefully anticipated by its sponsors. Whether, in the years between the council and 1286, the survival of these orders was due to their own deliberate change of character, or to laxity in the enforcement of the conciliar decree, need not seriously concern us here. For it is clear that by 1286 the crisis for the threatened orders we have enumerated above (save for those whose suppression was by that time well in process) had passed. It passed, clearly, with the accession of Honorius IV. We have already seen him supporting the Williamites in 1275, as a cardinal. As Pope, he issued in the spring of 1286 a number of bulls in favor of the orders threatened with annihilation: Augustinians, Carmelites, Servites, and Williamites. It is apparent that Honorius reversed the policy of the preceding decade and returned to something rather like that followed before 1274. We have seen above some reasons for supposing that the Dominicans and the Franciscans had played a part in the adoption of the policy of suppression of small mendicant orders in 1274. It is thus interesting and pertinent to note that Honorius IV, who emerged as the protector of the smaller groups, was regarded by Salimbene as unfriendly to the Dominican and Franciscans Orders; indeed, his criticism of Honorius was rather violent.[40] It is worth noting, too, that Innocent V, who seems to have moved against the Servites in 1276, was a Dominican who had, as a cardinal, played an active role at the council. Some small indications of resentment on the part of the lesser mendicant orders toward the two great orders may fall into this picture; in the year 1286, for example, the great Augustinian theologian, Egidius Romanus, was found aligned with those secular masters of the University of Paris supporting a group of prelates then attacking the privileges of the Dominicans and Franciscans—a fact sometimes noted with surprise.[41]

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[35] Giani, *op. cit.,* I, 122.

[36] *Ibid.,* I, 160.

[37] Morini and Soulier, *op. cit.,* II, 141 ff.

[38] Giani, *op. cit.,* I, 155-157.

[39] *Ibid.,* I, 158-159; Prou, *op. cit.,* #968; Potthast, #22553, 22558, 22584-5, 22595.

But although Honorius IV showed himself most friendly to those small orders which had received papal approval, he moved with some vigor against the principal order that had never been so approved, the Apostolic Friars.[42] These friars, radically different from any mentioned above, appeared in Italy in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. They led no conventional life, and seem to have been wanderers in the early Franciscan tradition—a group difficult to control, and hardly likely to be very disciplined—and a group also that, by its nature, would leave few documentary traces by which we could today judge its size and significance. Though primarily Italian, the Apostolic Friars ranged far, and some of them were in

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[40] *Cronica, loc. cit.*, p. 628-630. Honorius' character is defended from Salimbene's charges by Prou (*op. cit.*, pp. xvii-xix). His favor to the Williamites is noted by B. Pawlicki, *Papst Honorius IV* (Münster, 1896), pp. 107-110. He founded a house of this order at Albano in 1282 (Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, I, 265), and gave the order also four Benedictine houses in the vicinity of Rome (Prou, #67-9, 974). His registers show no trace of animosity toward the two great mendicant orders, but Salimbene had anticipated an unfavorable bull at the time of the Pope's death.

[41] Gratien, *op. cit.*, p. 508; Glorieux, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

[42] Our principal source for the Apostolic Friars is Salimbene's chronicle (*op. cit.*, pp. 255-294, 563-564, 619-620). The lengthy account in Henry C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1887), III, 100-124, is largely drawn from Salimbene.

England as early as 1270.[43] Never having been approved, the order was, under the decree of 1274, subject to immediate dissolution. But the Apostolic Friars, apparently, simply ignored the decree, and continued on their way, unaffected, from 1274 to 1286; during those years the group seems to have prospered, and left traces in Germany, Spain, and England, as well as in Italy. The failure of the papacy to suppress such orders as the Crutched Friars or the Friars of the Martyrs seems less surprising if it is remembered that the Apostolic Friars, openly violating the decree of 1274, and centering in northern Italy under the very eyes of the popes, escaped any known attempt at suppression for a dozen years. According to Salimbene, they even found support from the Bishop of Parma, a nephew of Innocent IV.

That Honorius IV set himself deliberately to review the entire policy of suppression of the smaller mendicant orders is indicated by the fact that he took cognizance of the Apostolic Friars precisely when he was issuing his bulls in favor of the other threatened groups. On March 11, 1286, a strong bull was published ordering the Apostolic Friars to disband instantly, and invoking the aid of the secular arm.[44] Further condemnations came from the Council of Würzburg in 1287, the Synod of Chester of 1289, and a bull of Nicholas V, couched in even stronger terms, in 1290.[45] The bull of 1286 had mentioned suspiciously heretical tenets of these friars; that of 1290 raised the full cry of heresy, and subjected them to inquisitorial procedure. What had been a mendicant order—albeit a rather extreme one—had become an heretical sect. The founder of the group was burned as a relapsed heretic at Parma in 1300, and the remaining friars were suppressed by military action in 1307, though their sympathizers figured occasionally in inquisitorial records for some years more.

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[43] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1266-1272,* p. 490: "Protection . . . for Robert, prior of the order of the Apostles, and his fellows, going on pilgrimages through diverse places of the realm," issued November 7, 1270. Robert is probably the person of that name who was a companion of the founder of this group; according to Salimbene, he was a servant of the Franciscans of Parma before joining the Apostolic Friars.

[44] Prou, #310; printed also in *Surtees Society,* CXXIII, 38-39, from the registers of the Archbishop of York, with the latter's covering letter of 1293 ordering its publication in all churches—a possible indication of the presence of some of these friars or their adherents in England almost two decades after the council.

[45] Mansi, XXIV, col. 863, 1063; Hefele-Leclercq, VI, i, 312-313; Langlois, *Registres de Nicolas IV,* #4253.

It seems probable that there existed in 1274 other unauthorized orders than that of the Apostolic Friars. The *Ordo Evangelistarum* and *Ordo Crucifixorum* mentioned by a Rouen chronicler as two of the groups suppressed by the conciliar action may have been such; they cannot be identified with any known group.[46] But if they were, they would appear to have disbanded without leaving any traces.

From the survey just completed we must judge the effects of the decree *Religionum diversitatem* upon the mendicant movement. Some of the effects are clear: three orders, and perhaps more, were wiped out, some groups found it expedient to retreat from mendicancy to an older form of monasticism, and the small orders that survived were, for a time, seriously checked in their growth. The full picture, however, awaits more information on the size and expansion of all the orders than is presently available; more regional catalogues such as those of Knowles for England and Wales, and Schoengen for the Netherlands, are needed.[47] But sufficient data is at hand to suggest some tentative conclusions, based upon the restricted area of France, Belgium, Holland, England, and Wales.[48]

In these lands, the expansion of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, very rapid up to about 1250, became much slower thereafter.

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[46] M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France,* XXIII, 406. There are a few other stray references to orders of which little or nothing is known. Sometimes, however, what look like new orders represent errors of transcription. For example, the "Friars of the Order of St. Mary and Jesus Christ" who received letters of protection from Henry III in 1272 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1266-1272,* p. 645) refers simply to the Pied Friars, or *fratres ordinis beate Marie matris Christi* (see above, note 14). The Latin text of this act reads *fratres ordinis beate Marie Ihesu Christi;* the scribe had carelessly written *Ihesu* for *matris*—a mistake natural enough for a hurried clerk—and the translator compounded the error by inserting the "and."

[47] Knowles, *op. cit.,* pp. 104-122; M. Schoengen, *Monasticon Batavum* (Amsterdam, 1941-1942), 4 vols. in 3. The catalogue of Belgian houses recently published (E. de Moreau, *Circonscriptions ecclésiastiques: chapitres, abbayes, couvents avant 1559* [Brussels, 1948], pp. 467-510), is less useful for this purpose; numerous convents are missing from the lists, and references for the dates advanced are generally lacking.

[48] The conclusions that follow are based upon the catalogues of houses in Holland, Belgium, England, and Wales cited in the preceding note, and upon the writer's research toward a catalogue of French mendicant convents, which he hopes to publish in the near future.

The marked growth of the smaller orders in the period 1250-1274, however, more than compensated for this decline in new foundations by the two great orders. In the quarter century before the Second Council of Lyons, the small orders accounted for well over half of the new mendicant convents established. Especially notable was the growth of the Friars of the Sack, which led all other mendicant groups in new convents founded in that period in the area under discussion; this order was emerging as a third large order. But in the quarter century following 1274 a marked change can be seen. The number of new mendicant foundations, which, despite the slowing down of the great orders, had reached its peak in 1274 itself, fell sharply thereafter. The last quarter of the century saw less than half as many new foundations as had the third quarter, and of this reduced number, well over half were Dominican or Franciscan.

One would judge that the Dominican and Franciscan Orders had virtually ceased to grow in number of friars after the middle of the thirteenth century. The figures on deceased friars reported at some Franciscan general chapters, for instance, showed little change from 1257 to 1340.[49] We cannot tell how long the smaller orders would have continued to expand if they had not been checked in 1274. But it is certain the council checked the growth of precisely that part of the mendicant movement that had most capacity for growth at that time. Since the general conditions of society were so soon to become less favorable for the expansion of the mendicant orders, the conciliar action may well have prevented such groups as the Augustinian Friars and the Carmelites, checked somewhat for a dozen years, from rivalling the two great orders in size. In any event, the Second Council of Lyons marked the end of the mushrooming of mendicant orders and of mendicant convents, and ensured the continued domination of the mendicant field by the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

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[49] The known figures, as given in *Archivum franciscanum historicum,* XXII (1929), 282, are as follows:

1257-1260: 2126 friars defunct 1313-1316: 2511 friars defunct
1282-1285: 2340 " " 1337-1340: 2272 " "

Since the figures for 1257-1260 come at the end of a period of very rapid growth, when the proportion of young friars was probably larger than at any later date, it seems evident that the number of Franciscans showed little if any increase in these eight decades.

ST. THOMAS MORE AND HIS UTOPIAN EMBASSY OF 1515

By

EDWARD SURTZ*

This study of the "more than six months" (*vltra sex menses*) of sojourn in the Low Countries purposes to indicate the new influences operative on St., Thomas More at the time of the composition of *Utopia,* and conseqently to furnish just enough background to make its opening pages more intelligible to students of *Utopia.* What were the "weightye matters and of greate importaunce" which were "in controuersie" between Henry VIII and the future Charles V? Why was the meeting held "at Bruges (for thus yt was before agreed)"? Who were the "commyssyoners, excellente men all" appointed by Charles? What was More's role? What were the course of the negotiations and their final result?[1]

It is impossible—and impracticable—to review the long and complicated history of the commercial relations between England and the Low Countries, centering about the wool of the sheep which figure so prominently in *Utopia.* For diplomatic and especially financial reasons the kings of England established the staple, usually on foreign soil, a place through which export wool was compelled to pass, and the Fellowship of the Staple, the corporation of merchants who handled wool coming to the staple. The export tax on wool was enormous. Consequently wool was dear on the continent and cheap in England—cheap, that is, except at the time of the writing of *Utopia.* Cloth manufactured in England "could be sold, not only at home but abroad, much more cheaply than foreign cloth, which had to pay an immensely higher sum for the same raw material."[2]

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[1] *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More,* ed. Joseph H. Lupton (Oxford, 1895), pp. 21-25; *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami,* eds. P. S. Allen et al. (Oxford, 1906-1947), II, 195. The former work will be designated as *Utopia;* the latter, as *Eras. Ep.* Throughout this article, the footnote which occurs at the end of each paragraph embraces all the sources quoted or referred to in that paragraph.

[2] Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (London,

The exportation of English cloths was in the hands of the Merchant Adventurers, who, unlike the Staplers, constituted a private company. By the end of the fourteenth century English cloth had entered into serious and successful competition with Flemish cloth on the continent. Restrictions on the selling and wearing of English cloths, especially in Flanders, failed in their purpose. Antwerp grew ever more and more in size and strength. Bruges in Flanders struggled hopelessly to remain the center of foreign trade. Its decline was due, not only to greater restrictions at Bruges than in newer centers, but also to the choking up of its harbor, the Zwin, with sand in the late fifteenth century and to Philip of Burgundy's release of Holland, Friesland, and Zeeland in 1501 from the obligation of observing the staple at Bruges.[3]

The commercial treaty of 1478, prolonged by Henry VII in 1487, was of great significance insofar as it made trade safer and more secure. Support of Perkin Warbeck, impostor claimant to the English crown against Henry VII, by Yorkists in the Netherlands produced retaliatory measures on both sides. Hardships upon English and Flemings, however, finally resulted in February, 1496, in a new treaty, the most important features of which were the repression of

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1941), pp. 101-102. Taxes on export *wool* ranged from about 20 to 33%, but duties on export *cloth* only from 1.5 to 4%, according to John Clapham et al. (Eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (Cambridge, 1941-1952), II, 136, 414. Hereafter this work will be referred to as *C.E.H.* The triumph of the English woolen industry was assured by the end of the fifteenth century; by that time "England had been transformed from an exporter primarily of raw materials into an exporter primarily of manufactured products" (*ibid.*, II, 413). On the date of the establishment of the Staple, cf. Power, *Wool Trade*, pp. 95-99, and *C.E.H.*, II, 242-243. On the whole background of the English trade in wool and cloth, cf. Eileen Power and Michael Postan, *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1933), pp. 39-90, and *C.E.H.*, II, 232-251, 413-428. On trade with the Low Countries in particular, cf. Georg Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik* (Leipzig, 1881), I, 5-53, and *C.E.H.*, II, 235-243. Schanz's second volume contains interesting source materials, e.g., the important privileges granted to English merchants at Antwerp in 1446 and 1518 (II, 162-170, 231-249). On the role of sheep and their wool, cf. *Utopia*, pp. 51-55.

[3] Cf. William L. Winter, "Netherland Regionalism and the Decline of the Hansa," *American Historical Review*, LIII (January, 1948), 279-287, and *C.E.H.*, II, 254-255. On the Merchant Adventurers, cf. Power and Postan, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15, 17-19, 35-38, 150-152, 263-265, and Charles Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1927), I, 148-155.

English rebels abroad, reapproval of privileges of the past fifty years, freedom of travel and trade, and prohibition of new restrictions and new tolls. Among Philip's subjects who had a special command laid upon them to see to the observance of the treaty was "Willielmus de Croy Dominus de Chierne," who was to figure as one of the signers of the treaty of January, 1516. One authority speaks of him as returning from Italy in 1495, having "rapporté de la péninsule des tableaux, des statues, des meubles, des manuscrits, qui annoncent un art nouveau."[4]

The course of the treaty of 1496 was by no means smooth. Complaints of infractions, impositions of new duties, and mutual recriminatory measures disturbed trade. For example, a proclamation obnoxious to the English (September 28, 1501) designated declining Bruges as the staple for English cloth in Flanders. In 1506 a violent storm drove Philip of Burgundy to England, where a new treaty of amity and a new treaty of intercourse were drawn up. Two of the four commissioners for the latter were Michael de Croy Dominus de Sempi et de Pawes, "Miles Ordinis Velleris Aurei" and Joannes le Sauvage "etiam Miles Dominus Deschambeke, Praesidens Flandriae," who were to be involved in the treaty of 1516. Not the least of Le

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[4] Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique,* III, 303, cited in Georges Dansaert, *Guillaume de Croy-Chièvres dit Le Sage* (Courtrai, 1942), p. 27. For the treaties of 1478, 1487, and 1496, cf. Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, etc.* (1704-1735), XII, 67 ff., 320 ff., 578 ff. On measures taken by the two countries, cf. Schanz, *Handelspolitik,* II, 191 ff., and James Gairdner, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (London, 1861-1863), II, 374. Guillaume de Croy, Seigneur de Chièvres, created chevalier by Maximilian (1486), named captain of the town and fortress of Huy (1488-1491), made Chevalier de la Toison d'Or at Malines (1491), shortly appointed councilor and chamberlain, companion of Charles VIII in the conquest of Naples (1494-1495), grand-bailli of Hainaut (1497), with the French army in Italy (1499), negotiator in Treaty of Lyons (1501), appointed Governor of the Low Countries and of Philip's four children in the latter's absence in Spain (1506), retired to government of Namur on the appointment of Margaret of Austria as regent (1507), chosen governor and premier chamberlain of the young Archduke Charles (1509), placed in charge of Charles' finances and appointed *lieutenant des fiefs au pays et duché de Brabant* (September, 1515). After the negotiation of treaties with England in 1516 he effected a treaty with France at Noyon (1516) and accompanied Charles to Spain (1517). He died at Worms (1521). Cf. *Biographie Nationale de Belgique,* IV, 528-533, and the recent life by Dansaert cited above.

Sauvage's merits was that he was a patron of the Renaissance and a befriender of Erasmus.[5]

The most important features of the treaty of 1506 for our purpose are concerned with the sale of English cloth and the imposition and collection of tolls. All suits for taxes, customs, tolls, etc., against the subjects of both rulers were to be dropped (art. 2), and all judgments, sentences, decrees, etc., passed against the Company of the English Nation or against merchants subject to Philip, were not to be put into execution (art. 3). Article 4 had two highly significant parts. The first allowed free access and activity to English merchants, not only in Bruges (undoubtedly a reference to Philip's proclamation of September 28, 1501), but in all of Philip's dominions. The second part forbade the English merchants in the aforesaid city of Bruges or in any other city, town, or place of the country of Flanders to cut their cloth or to dye, shear, or full it; they were permitted "to sell it wholesale only in the pack or packs, or by the whole piece or pieces" ("nec aliter nisi per Paccum vel Paccos, vel integrum Pannum vel integros Pannos in Grosso dumtaxat vendere"). Article 5 determined what tolls were to be paid. English merchants coming to Antwerp (in Brabant) were to pay, not the Zeeland toll, known popularly as

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[5] Jean le Sauvage (1455-1518), Seigneur de Schaubeke, licentiate in laws at Louvain (1478), president of the Council of Flanders and Chevalier de la Toison d'Or (1503), negotiator of commercial treaty with England (1506), president of the Privy Council (1508), mission to England for the marriage of Charles with Mary (1508), chancellor of Brabant (1509), chancellor of Burgundy (January 17, 1515), subscriber to treaties with England and France (1516), chancellor of Castile (1516), accompanied Charles to Spain, died at Saragossa (1518). Cf. *Biog. Nat. de Belgique,* XXI, 441-445, and *Eras. Ep.,* II, 239-240, 276-277. Michel de Croy, Seigneur de St-Py or Sempy, is not mentioned in *Biog. Nat. de Belgique.* He was made Chevalier de la Toison d'Or in 1500. "The King's Book of Payments" for 1509 records that "Lorde Sempe, his ambassador" (i.e., the Prince of Castile's) received 100 £. On October 15, 1513, Sempy gave his oath to the matrimonial alliance between Prince Charles of Castile and Princess Mary of England, but early in 1515 he and Nassau are mentioned as being in France to negotiate a marriage between Prince Charles and Madame Renée. He died on July 4, 1516. Cf. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1862-1932), eds. J. S. Brewer et al. [cited hereafter as *LP*], I, nos. 4508, 5006, II, nos. 82, 114, 160, p. 1441, and Baron de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Bruxelles, 1830), pp. 245, 538, 578. For documents pertaining to commercial relations during the decade, cf. Rymer, *Foedera,* XII, 654, 695, 713, and Schanz, *Handelspolitik,* II, 202-207.

Sewesche Tolle or *Hountte Tolle,* but only the toll arranged for in their privileges. Those going to Bergen (op Zoom) or Middelburg (in Zeeland) were not to pay the Brabant toll; nor those going to Bruges (in Flanders) the *Sewesse Tolle* of Zeeland. Article 7 was most important. It forbade Philip and his subjects to banish English cloths of this kind, or to prohibit the townsfolk or citizens or inhabitants or sojourners from cutting (i.e., selling at retail) or using them, or to impose burdens upon the buyers or sellers of the same cloths; but this article, in regard to the cutting of cloth, in no way applied to Flanders. In case of increase of tolls, exclusion of English cloths, etc., due notice was to be given beforehand.[6]

Philip died in September, 1506, without ratifying the treaty. Only in June, 1507, was a treaty, provisional in nature, concluded with Margaret of Savoy, Regent of the Netherlands. The new pact consisted of only five articles, which, although it was not realized at the time, were to govern commercial relations between the two countries for many years. The subjects of both parties were to be free to travel and trade according to the treaty of February 24, 1496, "without prejudice to other treaties negotiated since that time" (art. 1). By the latter phrase, a door was left open for future discussions on the treaty of 1506. Englishmen coming to Antwerp were to pay only the toll mentioned in their privileges, not the *Sewesche Tollen* or *Hound Tollen* of Zeeland; and those coming to Bergen or Middelburg, only the *Sewesche Tollen* of Zeeland, and not the toll of Brabant (art. 2). Netherlanders coming to England were to pay tolls and customs according to the treaty of February 24, 1496 (art. 3). All suits for customs, taxes, etc., against the subjects of both parties were to be dropped "for the duration of the provisional treaty; but all in the meantime are to remain merely suspended" (*dicta Provisione durante; sed omnia interim in Suspenso maneant*) (art. 4). The italicized words in this last article are an addition made to the treaty of 1506, art. 2. The last article repeated the treaty of 1506, art. 3, on the non-execution of decrees and judgments against merchants of both parties for tolls, etc. (art. 5). The notable feature of the treaty of 1507 was the omission of the clauses on the sale of English cloth (cf. treaty of 1506, arts. 4, 7).[7]

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[6] Rymer, *Foedera,* XIII, 132 ff. Of this treaty, except for its silence on the question of the Flemish right to fish off the coast of England, Dansaert writes: "il est d'ailleurs difficile d'y trouver des dispositions réellement funestes aux intérêts du Commerce des Pays-Bas" (*Croy-Chièvres,* p. 45). The treaty was especially hard on native cloth workers, on declining Bruges, etc. Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1923), III, 69, concludes: "c'est à juste titre que les gens des Pays-Bas lui ont donné le nom d'*Intercursus malus.*" Russell Ames in *Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia* (Princeton, 1949), p. 47, asserts that the *Malus Intercursus* (1506) "provided complete freedom for the sale of English cloths throughout the Netherlands"; articles 4 and 7, as is evident, make specific exceptions for Bruges and Flanders. In the early part of the fifteenth century, the export cloth had been dyed and finished in England, but at the end of the same century the English effected a compromise by "increasing the exports of undyed and unfinished cloth and selling it to the dyers and finishers from Flanders and Holland" (*C.E.H.,* II, 251). "Normally the *pannus* . . . consisted of 28 yards unshrunken or 24 yards shrunken. . . . But occasionally the length of a cloth increased to 36 yards or dropped to 20 yards" (Powers and Postan, *op. cit.,* p. 362, n. 21).

The early years of Henry VIII saw increases in tolls, customs, and taxes on English goods in the Netherlands, as well as perpetrations of other wrongs. An English embassy of 1512 was unsuccessful. In June, 1514, the English ambassadors, Knight and Poynings, were informed by the chancellor that the last day for negotiations on the intercourse was October 1, after which would follow the confiscation of all English goods discovered in Flanders. Fortunately, they seem to have been able to negotiate a brief prolongation of the intercourse until June 24, 1515. The apprehension of the English was very great. In February, 1515, the Duke of Suffolk (Charles Brandon), Nicholas West, and Richard Wingfield wrote:

> it is to be feared that the Prince of Castile and his Council that now ruleth about him, upon the pride of the said alliance and amity [with France], woll suddenly arrest the English fleet and cast on the merchants' necks all the arrearages of the Sewestoll and the toll of the Hound, which amounteth to a marvelous great sum, not able to be paide by our merchants without their utter undoing.[8]

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[7] Rymer, *Foedera,* XIII, 167 ff.

[8] *LP,* I, no. 5159, II, nos. 204, 298; Schanz, *Handelspolitik,* II, 212-218. The alliance referred to is probably that concluded with France on March 24, 1515, which arranged for the marriage of Charles with Madame Renée, second daughter of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne (not of Anne de Beaujeu, as in Pirenne, *op. cit.,* III, 84). In his congratulatory verses to Henry VIII on his coronation, More refers twice to renewed activity of English merchants, "heretofore deterred by numerous taxes" and "overharsh duties" (Leicester Bradner and Charles Lynch, *The Latin Epigrams of Thomas More* [Chicago, 1953], pp. 16, 18, 139, 141).

The peril of the merchants was extremely serious. In May, 1515, five men were chosen carefully to handle the delicate situation—these "weightye matters and of greate importaunce" (*non exigui momenti negocia*)—in the name of the "moste vyctoryous and tryumphaunte Kynge of Englande" (*inuictissimus Angliae rex*), a title well merited by Henry in view of his personal victory over the French in the Battle of the Spurs at Guinegate and his troops' defeat of the Scots at Flodden Field two years before. Since their names and lives are well known to students of *Utopia,* their mere mention here will suffice. The chief commissioner was Cuthbert Tunstal, whose companionship is acknowledged by More to have been a great consolation during the wearisome embassy. Richard Sampson, Wolsey's chancellor or vicar-general at Tournai where the French bishop-elect refused to withdraw in favor of Wolsey, seems to have been present on the commission in order to secure his protection through diplomatic immunity. The two commissioners who were well acquainted with actual commercial conditions in the Low Countries were Thomas Spinelly, a Florentine by birth, who had been knighted in reward for diplomatic services, and John Clifford, head or governor of the English merchants in the Low Countries. In view of our limited knowledge of Thomas More during the years before 1515, a full understanding of the reason for his choice as a member of the commission "at the suite and instaunce of the English merchauntes" is difficult at present. The *Black Books* and the City Records reveal little. Like his father, however, More appears to have been a member of the Mercers' Company. He acted as Latin interpreter when in 1509 a representative from Antwerp came "to treat for the return of the Merchant Adventurers' cloth-exporting staple to Antwerp." The Mercers' Company was the heart of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers. The same book contained the minutes of both companies until 1526. In 1511 More represented the Merchants of the Staple in their disputes with the Merchant Adventurers. In addition, More's great legal talent, already manifest in the able exercise of his office as under-sheriff and later to be revealed in such cases as that of the Pope's ship described by Roper, probably helped to the choice.[9]

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[9] *Utopia,* p. 21. The commission is reprinted in *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More,* edited by E. F. Rogers (Princeton, 1947), pp. 17-18. On Tunstal

The same day, May 7, 1515, saw a commission issued to Edward Poynings and William Knight to negotiate a treaty of amity with Charles. At the outset, in order to prevent confusion in reading the documents, it is necessary to distinguish carefully between the *amity* or *alliance*, which was the treaty of friendship, and the *intercourse*, which was the commercial treaty. On May 7, too, Erasmus wrote from London to Antwerp to tell Peter Gilles of the presence in Bruges of "the two most learned men of all England, . . . both of them most dear to me"; any service that Gilles could do them, would be well conferred. On May 8 More obtained permission to "occupie his Rowme & office by his sufficient depute un tyll his cummyng home agayn." Since Spinelly and Sampson were already abroad, Tunstal and More made hasty and makeshift preparations and departed on May 12. Clifford may have been with them. The following Friday, Spinelly wrote from Bruges of the arrival of Tunstal and More, who had informed him (Spinelly) of his membership in the commission. Sampson had not yet arrived, but promised Wolsey to be at Bruges on Monday, May 21, "fulfilling your Grace's pleasure and commandment."[10]

Bruges had undoubtedly been designated by the Netherlanders as the site of the conference with a view to its rehabilitation as a commercial center, perhaps by its re-establishment as the staple for English cloth.

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and his friendship with More, cf. Charles Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal* (London, 1938); J. Pits, *Relationes historicae de rebus Anglicis* (Paris, 1619), I, 279; E. J. Davis, "Doctors Commons, Its Title and Topography," *London Topographical Record,* XV (1931), 39, n. 1; R. J. Schoeck, "Was Sir Thomas More a 'Roman Lawyer'?" *Notes and Queries,* CXCIV (1949), 203; *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More,* Part III of *Tres Thomae,* 1588, translated by P. E. Hallett (London, 1928), p. 48; *Eras. Ep.,* II, 197; and, of course, *Utopia,* pp. 22-23. Sampson's biography is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* XVII, 719-721. Spinelly's later activities in the king's service are evident from *LP,* II and III, indices. Clifford is mentioned in *LP,* II, nos. 422, 534, 986, 2063, and in Schanz, *Handelspolitik,* II, 212-213. On More's relations with the merchants, cf. Roper's *Lyfe,* edited by E. V. Hitchcock (London, 1935), pp. 9 ff.; Harpsfield's *Lyfe,* edited by E. V. Hitchcock (London, 1932), pp. 307, 312 ff.; Ames, *Citizen Thomas More,* pp. 45, 184-190. On the Mercers' Company, cf. Gross, *op. cit.,* I, 149.

[10] *Eras. Ep.,* II, 68; Harpsfield, *Lyfe,* p. 313; More, *Correspondence,* p. 21; *LP,* II, nos. 469, 473-474, 480, 534. Biographies of Knight and Poynings are found in *D.N.B.,* XI, 264-266, and XVI, 271-274.

Thomas More in *Utopia* gives the continuation of the history of the delegation: "There met vs at Bruges . . . they whome theire prince hadde for that matter appoynted commyssyoners, excellente men all." A great deal of attention has been devoted by editors and scholars of More and his *Utopia* to the English commissioners, but the Flemish commissioners have been neglected. These commissioners may have been the same as those named in the commission issued at Brussels on December 9, 1515, namely, "Dominus Guilhelmus de Croy, Dominus Temporalis de Chiernes, Primus et Major Cubicularius Noster; Dominus Johannes le Sauvage, Dominus de Escaubeka, Cancellarius; Dominus Michael de Croy, Dominus de Sempy; Johannes de Hallewyn, Dominus de Maldehem; Magistri Georgius de Thamasia, Praepositus Cassellensis, et Philippus Ubalant, Consiliarii Nostri." Of these, as has been seen, three already had taken part in commercial relations between the Low Countries and England: Guillaume de Croy in the treaty of 1496, and Jean le Sauvage and Michel de Croy in the treaty of 1506. It is not clear, however, if all these figures were actively engaged in the commercial discussions from the beginning, or just from the time that the decision was reached to have the treaties of amity and intercourse complement each other. The latter view is favored by (1) the absence of their names (except, of course, of Le Sauvage, the chancellor) in dispatches and reports sent to England and (2) the role of Seigneur de Maldeghem as head of the Flemish commissioners at least in the early stages. Chances are against having Maldeghem as head with three men of higher position and nobler rank on the commission. It is possible that Le Sauvage, Guillaume de Croy, and Michel de Croy became involved in negotiations after Henry VIII made his demand toward the end of July for appointment by Charles of a number of his councilors to hear his reasons and suggestions.[11]

Of the commissioners, "the chiefe and the head," More stated in *Utopia,* "was the Marcgraue . . . of Bruges, a right honorable man"

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[11] *Utopia,* p. 68; Rymer, *Foedera,* XIII, 544; Dansaert, *op. cit.,* p. 137; *LP,* II, nos. 723, 782, 1262. An appeal to the archivist of Bruges to search for a document naming the Flemish commissioners for the treaty of commerce brought the following reply (October 16, 1948): "J'ai examiné attentivement le compte communal de Bruges pour l'exercice 1514 (september 2)-1515 (septembre 2) et je n'y ai pas trouvé la moindre trace du traité de commerce conclu entre la Flandre et l'Angleterre en 1515. J'ai examiné également d'autres sources d'archives, les cartulaires notamment, mais aussi sans succès."

(*in his praefectus Brugensis, uir magnificus, princeps et caput erat*). To date, no editor of *Utopia* appears to have identified this *praefectus Brugensis*. The following evidence tends to show that it was Seigneur de Maldeghem. Most important of all is an undated fragment, presumably from Spinelly, speaking of "the lord Waldyngham, burgomaster of this [town], and chief commissioner for the intercourse." *Waldyngham* is a scribal error (or editorial reading) and natural anglicization for *Maldeghem*, who appears in dispatches also as *Malyngham*. Secondly, Maldeghem is the only commissioner who can properly be spoken of as *praefectus Brugensis*, which is undoubtedly the classical equivalent for the mediaeval *burgimagister*.[12]

It seems clear that *van Halewin* was the family name of Seigneur de Maldeghem. But what was his Christian name? Unfortunately there is some confusion on this point. The commission of December 9, 1515, names "*Joannes* de Hallewyn Dominus de Maldehem." But the *Registre aux Renouvellements de la Loi de Bruges pour les Années 1503-1534* has the following entries:

Folio 97. 1512, Septembre 2-1513, Septembre 2. Burchmeester van scepenen: joncheer Jacob van Halewyn, schiltcnape, heere van Maldeghem.

Folio 101. 1513, Septembre 2-1514, Septembre 2. Burchmeester van scepenen: joncheer Jacop van Halewin, schiltcnape, heere van Maldeghem.

Folio 107v. 1514, Septembre 2-1515, Septembre 2. Burchmeester van scepenen: joncheer Jacop van Halewin, heere van Maldeghem.

Folio 120. 1516, Septembre 2-1517, Septembre 2. Burchmeester van scepenen: joncheer Jacop van Halewin, heere van Maldeghem.[13]

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[12] *Utopia*, p. 23; *LP*, II, nos. 536, 1468.

[13] This transcription of the register is found in a letter of March, 1948, to the author from R. A. Parmentier, Conservateur des archives de la ville de Bruges. A letter of April 10, 1948, from the Public Record Office, London, informed the writer that the original of the document printed in *Foedera*, XIII, 544, by Rymer (*Diplomatic Documents, Treasury of the Receipt*, E30/776) "clearly reads Joh[ann]is, not Jacobi, the surname incidentally being spelt Hallewin, not Hallewyn as in Rymer. The same form (written in full, Johannis de Hallewin) appears in E30/783, the original of No. 1427(1) in Vol. 2. pt. I of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, in a recitation of the same Commission of 9 December 1515." The entry under "De Maldeghem" in M. de Vegiano, *Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas*, edited by De Herckenrode (Gand, 1868), III, 1285 ff., throws no light on the problem.

The conclusion that *Jacques* (or *Jacop*) is the Christian name of van Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem, who is the burgomaster mentioned in *Utopia,* is borne out also in various *printed* documents. Thus, a document dated September 2, 1513, exists whereby Lord Maldeghem unwillingly took office again as "chef et bourgmestre des eschevins" at the command of Maximilian, who, however, granted a letter of non-prejudice to the privilege of the city that "bourgmestres et tresoriers doivent après la deposition et deportement de leur office vaquer sans estre en loy du moins par deux ans." On June 27, 1515 (during negotiations with the English, therefore), "Joncheere Jacop van Halewyn, sciltcnape, heere van Maldeghem ende Vutkerke," is spoken of as having been "burgmeester vander zelver stede" for three years, and is ordered to receive compensation for private disbursements made in the fitting reception of Prince Charles, ambassadors, etc.[14]

In view of all this evidence, one must conclude that the Christian name of Lord Maldeghem at this time was *Jacques.* This Jacques was the lord of many fiefs, notably of Maldeghem, and councilor and chamberlain of Charles V. He was the son of Charles, a very great personage of Bruges, councilor and chamberlain of Maximilian. He married a cousin, Catherine van Halewin, who was the daughter of Colard, grand-bailli of Ypres, councilor and chamberlain of Philip the Handsome and Charles V. He died on October 1, 1544, and was buried at Maldeghem in a magnificent tomb.[15]

It remains to explain the presence of the name *Joannes* (*Jean* or *Jan*) van Halewin in the document of December 9, 1515. Jacques van Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem, had a distant relative named

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[14] *Mémoriaux de Bruges,* edited by L. Gilliodts-van Severen (Bruges, 1913), I, 67-70, 76-77. For the reception of Prince Charles at Bruges on April 18, 1515, cf. the reprint by the Société d'Émulation de Bruges of *La tryumphante et solemnelle entree faicte sur le . . . advenement . . . de Monsieur Charles prince des hespaignes . . . en sa ville de Bruges* (Paris, Remy de Gourmont, 1515). It was natural that Charles should have spent the previous day at the estate of the burgomaster of Bruges, viz., at Maldeghem (Louis P. Gachard [Ed.], *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* [Bruxelles, 1876-1881], II, 15). Alexandre Henne, *Histoire du règne de Charles-Quint en Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1858-1860), II, 126, mentions the name of "*Jacques* de Halewin, seigneur de Maldeghem" in a commission issued May 16, 1515.

[15] Letter of June 2, 1950, from Ch. van Renynghe de Voxvrie, editor of the *Tablettes des Flandres: Généalogiques, Historiques, Héraldiques,* published in Bruges.

Jean van Halewin, Seigneur de *Swevezeele,* the son of Jean, president of Holland and of Zeeland, and Beatrice van der Ryne. This Seigneur de Swevezeele was *bourgmestre de Bruges* in 1515-1516 and died in 1521. Frequent mention of Jean's activities during these years is made in contemporary records.[16]

One of two things must have happened: in either case an error must be postulated. First, the Christian name *Jean* is simply a scribal mistake in the document of December 9, 1515. The personage intended is *Jacques* de Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem, who we know for certain was a councilor of Charles V. Since a great personage was known by his title rather than by his family and especially his Christian name, the mistake may well lie in the Christian name. Secondly, the writer erroneously may have ascribed the seigniory of Maldeghem to *Jean* de Halewin. Jacques de Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem, burgomaster of Bruges in May, 1515, was head of the Flemish commissioners when Thomas More, with the English commissioners, arrived at Bruges. When negotiations were shifted from Bruges and when Guillaume de Croy, Jean le Sauvage, and Michel de Croy entered upon the scene, Jean de Halewin, Seigneur de Swevezeele, was named to take the place of Jacques de Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem. This appears not unlikely since Philippe Wielant, who was also a member of the commission, was a brother-in-law of Jean.[17]

At any rate, what seems to be clear is the following. From the *Utopia* one knows that the head of the Flemish commission in May, 1515, was the burgomaster of Bruges. From two messages in *Letters and Papers* one learns that this burgomaster was *Seigneur de Maldeghem.* From contemporary documents, both published and unpublished, one discovers that the family name of the Seigneur de Maldeghem was *van Halewin* and that his Christian name was *Jacques.* It is, therefore, Jacques de Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem, whom More honors as *uir magnificus.*[18]

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[16] Letter of June 2, 1950, from Ch. van Renynghe de Voxvrie; *Documents extraits du dépôt des archives de la Flandre-Occidentale à Bruges,* edited by F. Priem, series 2, tome 7 (Bruges, 1850), pp. 204 ff.; *Précis analytique des documents . . . à Bruges,* series 2, tome 2: *Comptes du Franc,* edited by F. Priem (Bruges, 1844), pp. 238, 244-247, 256, 261, 266-267, 276-277, 279, 281-282.

[17] This argument carries weight with Ch. van Renynghe de Voxvrie in a letter of August 4, 1950, to the author.

[18] *Utopia,* p. 23; *LP,* II, no. 536 and esp. no. 1468. The sumptuous marble

Jacques de Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem, the burgomaster of Bruges, was the "chiefe and head" (*princeps et caput*) of the commissioners. Their mouthpiece and soul (*os et pectus*), however, was "George Temsice, prouoste of Casselles; a man not onlye of lernyng but also by nature of singuler eloquence, and in the lawes profoundelye lerned; but in reasonynge, and debatynge of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daylye exercise, suerlye he hadde fewe fellowes." This praise is the more striking in view of what More was to say later in the *Utopia* about law, diplomacy, and priestliness. The ecclesiastic, lawyer, and diplomat whom More lauds so highly belonged to a family of distinction, being the son of Louis, *chevalier et bourgmestre de Bruges,* and Marguerite of Flanders. The family name appears in many forms: van Themseke, de Theemseke, Theimseke, Themzeke, Theimzeke, Theimzekin, Teimseke, etc. After obtaining a doctorate in law, he entered the clerical state. He held the deanship or the provostship of Ste.-Gudule in Brussels, St.-Bavon in Ghent, St.-Pierre in Cassel, Notre-Dame in Courtrai, etc. A member of the Grand Council in Mechlin and later one of the two councilors and masters of requests of Charles, he was employed on numerous diplomatic missions. For example, he had acted as ambassador of Margaret of Savoy at the Congress of Cambrai in 1508. It was the Provost of Cassel who was sent to England on the difficult mission of explaining matters after the Treaty of Noyon of August, 1516. His death occurred in 1536. The *Historia Atrebatensis,* which is sometimes ascribed to him, was probably not composed by him. Nevertheless, he was a patron of the new learning and Erasmus in 1516 described him as "uir iuxta doctus atque humanus."[19]

The outstanding literary figure among the representatives of Charles was Philippe Wielant (*ca.* 1440-1519), Seigneur de Landeghem, Eversbeeck, etc. He was a brother-in-law of Jean de Hale-

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tombs of the Halewins show that they participated to some extent in the artistic revival of the Renaissance. More might have met their foremost literary representative, Georges, Seigneur de Halewin, who as early as 1508 had written a *Restauratio linguae latinae* (published in 1533) and in 1517 was to publish a French translation of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly.* The humanists dedicated numerous books to him. Cf. *Eras. Ep.,* III, 62-63.

[19] *Eras. Ep.,* II, 243; *Utopia,* p. 23; *Biog. Nat. de Belgique,* VII, 619; Charles J. Carton et al., *Biographie des hommes remarquables de la Flandre Occidentale* (Bruges, 1843-1849), II, 176 (an account which contains several errors); *LP,* II, nos. 2322, 2327, 2331, 2415, etc.; A. F. Pollard, *The Reign of*

win, Seigneur de Swevezeele. The offspring of noble and ancient lineage, he received a licentiate in civil law at Louvain on December 5, 1464. He became a councilor in the parliament at Mechlin on its establishment by Charles the Bold in 1473, and on its re-establishment by Philip the Handsome in 1504. During the period of cessation of the parliament, he was prominent in the Provincial Council of Flanders. In addition, he acted as master of requests to Duchess Mary of Burgundy (1476) and Philip (1501), as *burghmeester van schepenen* (April 26 to September 13, 1482), as envoy for a treaty with France, etc. Denis Hardouin (*ca.* 1530-1605) paid Wielant the tribute which Pliny the Younger had rendered his uncle: he wrought deeds worthy of being written about and wrote works worthy of being read. In addition to books in Flemish on feudal law and civil law in Flanders, he left in manuscript a work entitled "Receuil des antiquités de Flandre," etc.[20]

Although not mentioned in the commission of December 9, 1515, another figure involved in the negotiations may have been the councilor, Jean Roussel [or Rousseau], Seigneur de Hornettes. At any rate, the *Compte de Jean Micault* has the following entry:

> A maistre Philippe Wielant et Jehan Roussel, conseiller, à eulx deux pour vacations par eulx faittes pour l'affaire de l'entrecours de la merchandise entre Engleterre de les Pays de par deçà, ij^c xxx livres.

Wieland and Roussel agreed to exemption of English goods from all rights to toll and custom upon the Scheldt.[21]

Henry VII from Contemporary Sources (London, 1913-1914), III, 132; Gachard, *Voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas,* II, 493; L. Gilliodts-van Severen (Ed.), *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges: inventaire des chartres,* series I (Bruges, 1879-1882), p. 153; C. Mussely et E. Molitor (Eds.), *Cartulaire de l'ancienne église collégiale de Notre Dame de Courtrai* (Gand, 1880), p. 262.

[20] Printed in *Recueil de chroniques de Flandre,* edited by J. J. De Smet, IV, 7-442, prefaced with a life of the author (IV, i ff.). The present information on Wielant has been gathered also from Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Lovanii, 1643), pp. 780 ff.; Antonius Sanderus, *De Gandavensibus* (Antverpiae, 1624), pp. 115 ff.; M. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas* (Louvain, 1770), III, 232 ff., and *Biog. Nat. de Belgique.* Additional data can be found in De Vegiano, *Nobiliaire,* II, 930; Henne, *Règne de Charles-Quint en Belgique,* I, 73; *Documents . . . à Bruges,* series 2, tome 7, pp. 164 f.; L. Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancienne estaple de Bruges* (Bruges, 1905), II, 379.

[21] Henne, *Règne de Charles-Quint en Belgique,* I, 231, 255, n. 4; II, 161, n. 3, 162; Gachard, *Voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas,* I, 371.

More had the consolation of seeing Erasmus when the latter halted toward the end of May for a short time at Bruges on his way from London to Basle. The two friends discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the canonry at Tournai which Sampson—in vain—was trying to secure from Wolsey for Erasmus. More also showed him a translation of a work of Lucian or Plutarch made by the celebrated Willibald Pirckheimer, who was eager for Erasmus' acquaintance and friendship. It is tempting to think that the two planned replies to Dorp's attacks, but Erasmus definitely states that a friend first showed him a copy of Dorp's letter later at Antwerp. It may have been on this same trip, suggests P. S. Allen, that Erasmus, after leaving Bruges and Antwerp, was offered at Mechlin a position as councilor to Prince Charles. (The first definite mention of the honor seems to be in a letter from John Becar of Borsselen, November 22, 1515). It is not impossible, however, for the offer to have been made by Le Sauvage, not in late May at Mechlin, but in late April or in early May at Ghent, where Erasmus had sojourned for three days with the chancellor. If this be true, Peter Gilles at Antwerp and Thomas More at Bruges might well have urged Erasmus to accept such a post with the same arguments with which they plied Hythloday in *Utopia*. To Erasmus, as to Raphael, Peter could have said: "I am sewre there is no prynce lyuynge that wolde not be very gladde of yowe; as a man not onlye able hyghelye to delyte hym wyth youre profounde lernynge, and thys your knowledge of contreis and peoples, but also are meat to instructe him with examples, and helpe hym wyth counsell." And to the same Sage of Rotterdam, More might have spoken as he did to Hythloday: "[I]n yowe is so perfitte lernynge, that wythowte anye experience; and agayne so great experyence, that wythoute anye lernynge; yowe maye well be anny kinges councellour." And to Erasmus' objections, More might have said:

> But yet, all this notwithstanding, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must needys beleue that you, if you be disposed, and can find in youre harte to followe some pryntes courte, shall with your good cownselles greatly healpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherefore there is nothynge more apperteynynge to your dewty; that is to say, to the dewty of a good man. For where as youre Plato Judgethe that weale publyques shall by this meanes attayne perfecte felicitie, other if phylosophers be kynges, or els if kyngs giue them selfes to the study of Phi-

losophie; how farre, I praye yow, shall commen wealthes then be from thys felicitie, if phylosophers wyll vouchesaufe to instructe kynges with their good counsell?[22]

The plan of the Netherlanders seems to have been to make delays until the conclusion of the treaty of amity and then to seize English goods on June 24, 1515, the date of the expiry of the prolongation of the intercourse. Poynings and Knight behaved in public as if their only mission was the renewal of the alliance and amity, but in private they informed the council of Henry VIII on May 24 that the amity and intercourse should be united to prevent great loss to the merchants. The commissioners for the intercourse made a beginning toward the end of May, but the tardy arrival of Sampson's commission as well as the temporary absence of a Flemish representative delayed serious discussion until early June. The Provost of Cassel maintained that the Flemings had more than eighty complaints on their side, of which the principal appear to have been the nullity of the intercourse of 1506 and the reduction of many Netherlanders to poverty because of the exorbitant customs on wools from England. Tunstal employed strong arguments to prove the validity of the intercourse of 1506, to which the Provost of Cassel "made most feeble answers." From a private conversation with the same commissioner, Sampson gathered that the government of the Low Countries was planning to make Bruges the staple for English goods. The provost complained that the heavy tolls levied by the English on wool were intolerable and drove the merchants away from Bruges. Sampson replied that, although Bruges might suffer, Antwerp, "now one of the flowers of the world," and other cities flourished. When the provost observed that their prosperity was not due to English merchants, Sampson averred that these cities would soon find out that, in case they went elsewhere, the English were the chief cause. Cassel could then resort only to reasons of humanity and sympathy:

> Bruges is now in great poverty for want of merchants resorting, and great pity it is to see the decaying of such an excellent town. Your merchants be vexed with tolls passing through Brabant. Cause them only to

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[22] *Utopia,* pp. 35, 37-38, 79-80. On the prebend, cf. *LP,* II, nos. 528, 594, 889-890 (on a different prebend, nos. 2066, 3573, 3700); *Eras. Ep.,* II, 90, 149-150, 162, 194 (on Le Sauvage's gift of a prebend at Courtrai in 1516, II, 276-277, 374). For references to Pirckheimer and Dorp, consult *Eras. Ep.,* II, 10 ff., 67, 90 ff., 151. On the councilship, read *Eras. Ep.,* II, 67-68, 161.

> resort to this town [Bruges]; they shall be out of trouble, and none other tolls demanded of them but one small thing coming to this town. And that they may come the more commodiously the town of Bruges with their Importown expenses be making of a straight river and a water for to come to Escluse and to Bruges. And rather than the Englishmen should have remission of these tolls [i.e., those levied at Bruges], which is the cause of passing their country and leaving them, they would rage and be ready to an insurrection.

Apparently the most active proponents of the scheme were the burgomaster of Bruges and the provost himself, "whose bro[ther is a c]hiffe burgess of Bruges." In an undated letter, however, one of the English envoys quotes "the Lord Waldyngham [i.e., Maldeghem], burgomaster of this [town], and chief commissioner for the intercourse" to the effect that the people earnestly desire the treaty of intercourse with England.[23]

Of the progress of negotiations after June 14 the historian is left in ignorance. On June 23 Poynings and others wrote to Henry VIII that the French seem to "mind to cause your grace to have business within your own realm" by using the claims of Richard de la Pole. This was part and parcel of the French policy toward England:

> preuilie and secretly, for openly it maye not be doone by the truce that is taken; pryuelye therfore, I saye, to make muche of some peere of Englande, that is bannyshed his countrey, whiche must cleyme title to the crown of the realme; and affirme hym selfe iuste inheritoure therof; that by thys subtyll meanes they may holde to them the kynge, in whome elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce.

The Utopians use the same means! They "procure occasyons of debate and dyssentyon to be spredde emonge theyre enemyes; as by bryngynge the prynces brother, or some of the noble men, in hoope to obtayne the kyngedome."[24]

On Wednesday, July 4, a meeting was held on the interpretation of the intercourse of 1506. Sampson claimed that the answers of the Netherlanders "lack neither taunting nor checks." Insisting upon the impossibility of its perseverance after the death of the two contracting sovereigns, they would "listen to nothing urged in justification of the intercourse of 1506." On July 9 Tunstal, Sampson, and

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[23] *LP,* II, nos. 478, 498, 499, 512, 519, 520, 526, 528, 551, 553, 566, 568, 581.
[24] *Utopia,* pp. 84, 251; *LP,* II, no. 609.

More sent a petition to the council for more money since the period of sixty days for which they had received funds was almost over and since they were likely to remain abroad for some time. In a letter sent to Wolsey on the same day, Tunstal again discussed their financial situation. Especially humorous—in fact, humorous enough to have originated with More himself—was the statement: "Master More at this time, as being at a low ebb, desires by your grace to be set on float again." In the same missive Tunstal spoke of having received both "a plain nay" and "an ambiguous answer" from Charles' representatives. The latter stated the condition of negotiations better, since Tunstal has informed Poynings that matters were at a standstill.[25]

There is now a silence of more than ten days in existing records. To a written reply of the English to their charges, the representatives of the Low Countries refused to give any response without first seeking the advice of Prince Charles and his council. Ten days later they announced that they had received a message, and at the meeting the next day,

> they shewed vs a letter directed vnto theym fro the prynce, by which[e] he gave theym in commaundement to resorte vnto hym and h[ys] Counsayle at Meclyne, wher he intendyd to bee hymself, within few dayes, at whiche theyr resortyng to his p̱resence they shold haue on his behalf a full and a perfite knowleg[e] of his plesure concernyng oure busynesse.

This is undoubtedly the stage in negotiations referred to in *Utopia*, where More declared that the representatives of Prince Charles "for a c̹erteyne space toke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to knowe theire princes pleasure." The difference in the place-names does not constitute a serious problem, since the commissioners might have met the prince at Mechlin and then proceeded with him to Brussels. In 1515 Charles held court at Mechlin on July 21-22, and at Brussels on July 23-29.[26]

The English were having trouble not only with the intercourse but also with the amity. Charles' council appeared to be putting off

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[25] *Cartulaire de l'ancienne estaple de Bruges*, II, 462, no. 1440; *LP*, II, nos. 612, 672, 676, 678, 679, 724; More, *Correspondence*, pp. 20 f. For a trip of Spinelly to England at this time, cf. *LP*, II, nos. 676, 733, 769, 782, 794, 813, 818.

[26] More, *Correspondence*, p. 23; *LP*, II, no. 732; *Utopia*, p. 23; *Voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, II, 17.

Poynings and Knight with "fair and ineffectual promises" until they "see how the business with the French succeeds," a reference to their endeavor to keep the French from any attack on the Low Countries during the absence of Charles in Spain. Henry VIII instructed Tunstal to seek an audience with Prince Charles, to ask him to appoint some of his councilors to hear his case with a view to reaching a compromise on the intercourse, and, if all efforts failed, to ask time to warn the English merchants. Tunstal tarried in Bruges, but he soon learned that "the Chancellor of Burgundy [Le Sauvage] has expressly told Dr. Knight that the commissioners for the intercourse will not return." On August 3 he set out for the court of Charles to execute Henry's orders.[27]

The historian's ignorance of the negotiations of the next two weeks is complete. Only on August 20 did Spinelly write to Wolsey that he "thinks the *amity* will not be broken." Exactly a week later, Knight wrote: "I have not pressed for an answer about the amity, for they are in doubt what to do in the intercourse." Surviving records are then silent for more than two weeks. On September 13 Tunstal wrote from Brussels that Poynings was leaving for England. Apparently negotiations for the amity had reached the concluding stages where Poynings' presence would no longer be necessary. In regard to the intercourse, any positive or definite statement was impossible "because of the diverseness of their communications."[28]

It seems to have been shortly afterwards that More paid the visit to Antwerp which he described in his *Utopia.* "[A]t that tyme I hadde byn more then .iiii. monythes from them [my natyue contreye, my wyffe and my chyldren]." It is true that More spoke earlier as if he had made this trip in July, namely, when the representatives of Charles, "[a]fter that we hadde ones or twise mette, . . . for a certeyne space toke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know theire princes pleasure." His statement on having been "more then .iiii. monythes" from home (*plus quatuor mensibus abfueram domo*) is so definite that September must be accepted as the month for his sojourn in Antwerp with Peter Gilles. Why did More make this trip to Antwerp? That it was probably not a mere sight-seeing tour is clear from the statement: *sic enim res ferebat.* The Latin is difficult to translate exactly: it means, in effect, that the course of the negotiations took him there. Thomas More apparently was to use his influence to bring the people of Antwerp to the vigorous support of the English side; for example, they should use all their power to prevent the removal of the staple for English cloth to Bruges, a measure demanded by the Flemish commissioners. The source of More's reputed weight and credit with the burgers of Antwerp lay in the work he had done for the English merchants, for example, in the visit of the pensionary of Antwerp to London in 1509, an event alluded to above. The letter of Erasmus (May 7, 1515) which announced More's sojourn in Bruges to Gilles, who was Chief Secretary of Antwerp, must have helped. More's high tribute to Gilles in *Utopia* is too well known to be repeated here.[29]

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[27] *LP,* II, nos. 538, 724, 733, 767, 768, 782, 807.

[28] *LP,* II, nos. 830, 831, 858, 904, 905.

The date of More's visit to the future founder of the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, Jerome Busleyden, who had come to know Tunstal at Padua, is altogether uncertain. It may well have been Tunstal who either had accompanied More to Busleyden's magnificent house at Mechlin or had given More a letter of introduction to him. More in an epigram speaks of his amazement at a house in which the maze of rooms seemed to be executed by Daedalus, the paintings by Apelles, the engravings by Myron, the sculpture by Lysippus, the statues by Praxiteles, the distichs by Vergil, etc. In fact, Busleyden's collection of ancient coins merits a distinct epigram. If one is to judge from a third epigram, the intimacy between More and Busleyden had reached the stage where Busleyden showed More some of his original compositions. In the epigram More urged Busleyden to publish them. In his letter dated November 1, 1516, and prefixed to *Utopia,* Peter Gilles spoke of More as being "perfectly wel known" (*notissimus*) to Busleyden, who was "familiarly and thoroughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost diuine witte of the man" (*qui familiari consuetudine penitus habes cognitum homine maius ac prope diuinum hominis ingenium*). It is noteworthy that More used the same word *consuetudo* (familiar manner of life, social intercourse, close association, even intimacy) to describe his relations to Gilles on his trip to Antwerp. But of any relationship between More and Busleyden surpassing mere acquaintance and hospitality and approaching close friendship there is not the slightest hint in Busleyden's own letter to More which was printed in the first edition of *Utopia*. Lupton's translation, "my accomplished friend," has little justification in the original where "ornatissime More" alone is used. The letter itself is taken up with general compliments on More's character and broad observations on the ideal commonwealth. Nor is there record of any personal correspondence between More and Busleyden. A letter which Busleyden wrote to Erasmus on November 9, 1516, remarked, indeed, that his letter to More perhaps may not to do justice to the loftiness of its subject (namely, *Utopia*), but does stand as a most evident and certain proof of his esteem and respect for Erasmus. In a sense, therefore, Busleyden's letter is less a tribute to More than to Erasmus who was anxious to have the publication go into the world under the best auspices and patronage.[30]

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[29] *Utopia,* pp. 23-25. On More's tender feelings for his wife and children, cf. the lines, conjecturally written in 1516 and 1517, in *Latin Epigrams of Thomas More,* pp. 104-105, 108-110, 226, 230-231.

The next important date is October 1, 1515, when full powers were granted to Knight and Tunstal (successor to Poynings) to conclude the treaty of alliance. As for the intercourse, a new commission was issued on October 2 to Tunstal, Sampson, Spinelly, More, and Clifford, but this time the name of Knight was added to the list of negotiators, perhaps on account of his success with the amity. On October 16 occurred the arrival of Richmond in Brussels with various letters, among which seems to have been the order recalling the commissioners, More included. To judge from his letter to Dorp, More was at this time at Bruges, where he spoke of being prevented from treating matters more fully by the arrival of a letter which recalled him to his king. More apparently was using his forced leisure well—in defense of Erasmus and humanism. There exists no more eloquent expression of his attitude toward contemporary Scholasticism and the study of Greek than the letter to Dorp, which he suppressed, however, as a source of fruitless and harmful contention.

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[30] Cf. *Eras. Ep.*, II, 375; *Utopia,* pp. xcv, xcviii, 25, 313; *LP*, II, no. 1383; More's *Epigrammata* (1520), pp. 101-102; *Latin Epigrams of Thomas More*, pp. 100-102, 221-223. Earlier in 1515 Busleyden had been a representative of Charles in France at the accession of Francis I just as he had been in 1509 in England at that of Henry VIII. He was provost of Aire; canon of Mechlin, Mons, and Liège; archdeacon of Cambrai and Brussels, etc. Although he had been awarded his LL.D. at Bologna, he had studied also at Padua. For his life, cf. *Biog. Nat. de Belgique,* III, 205-208, and the sources cited there, and Erasmus' tribute to Busleyden's zeal for the new learning in "Ratio verae theologiae," *Opera omnia* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1703-6), V, 77 f.

It was on Wednesday, October 24, that More reached Calais on his return trip, according to Richard Pace, who wrote to Wolsey from Antwerp on October 25 that, after leaving Calais, "I met with Mr. More in the highe waye." Upon his return the king decreed More an annual pension of £100, but More, probably in February, 1516, wrote to Erasmus that to date he had refused it as compromising his position with the City of London. In the same month, however, Ammonius told Erasmus that More was frequenting the court, no one more opportunely conveying to Wolsey the morning's greetings.[31]

Wolsey's secretary, Richard Pace, who met More returning from Flanders, was on his way to secure the services of Swiss mercenaries in order to expel the French from Italy. But Thomas More did not have to look far south to the Swiss to perceive the ravages committed by mercenaries. The *Landesknechte,* who had been organized by Maximilian early in his career into almost irresistible infantrymen, had spread terror through the Netherlands in the last decades of the fifteenth century and had been the cause for much agitation and resistance to Maximilian, especially in Flanders. In 1514, the Governor of Friesland, Duke George of Saxony, had used the "Black Band" to repress rebellion. In 1515, the very year in which More was in Flanders, George promised to dismiss the Black Band in exchange for a large sum paid in redemption of unhappy Friesland. But these mercenary troops kept seeking employment wherever they could find it. Their depredations in Holland continued until their dispersal and partial massacre in 1518. Thomas More, therefore, had right at hand testimony and evidence of the great evils done by mercenary troops, although the details of the description of the Zapoletes in *Utopia* fit the Swiss best.[32]

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[31] *LP,* II, nos. 974-976, 981, 1047, 1059, 1067, 2736; More, *Correspondence,* pp. 25, 27-74, 147; *Eras. Ep.,* II, 10, 126 ff., 146, 196 f., 200 f. For further details on the controversy with Dorp, cf. Henry de Vocht, *Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists of the First Half of the XVIth Century: Erasmus, Vives, Dorpius, Clenardus, Goes, Moringus* [*Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*] (Louvain, 1934). The editor of More's *Correspondence,* pp. 23 ff., apparently on the authority of *LP,* II, no. 977, assigns to the year 1515 a letter dated October 1 from Knight, More, Wilsher, Sampson, Hannibal, and Hewesten. For reasons too long to detail here, such as differences of subject matter and of personnel on the commissions, the letter belongs better to 1520 and, therefore, cannot be used here.

[32] *Utopia,* pp. 252-255; Ernest Gilliat-Smith, *The Story of Bruges* (London, 1905), pp. 256-305; *Cambridge Modern History* (New York, 1903), I, 453;

What were the final results of the negotiations? On December 9 a commission was issued by Charles under his great seal to W. de Croy, J. le Sauvage, M. de Croy, J. de Halewin, G. de Theimseke, and P. Wielant, to conclude negotiations for the intercourse as well as for the alliance with Tunstal and Knight. Both the treaties of alliance and of intercourse were signed ultimately on January 24, 1516. For the pact of alliance, Tunstal and Knight represented Henry, and Jean le Sauvage, Guillaume de Croy, and Michel de Croy represented Charles. For the intercourse, the English signers were Tunstal, Knight, and Spinelly. The document speaks of them as holding conferences "cum Spectabilibus & Magnificis Viris, Domino Willielmo de Croy, Domino de Chiernes, Domino Johanne le Sauvaige Equite Aurato Domino de Escaubeca, & Domino Michaele de Croy Domino de Sempy." Consequently, these three may have been the sole representatives of Charles in the final stage of negotiations. Charles took his oath on January 27, and Tunstal left two days later, for as he wrote, "[m]y purse doth remember me to make haste, as oft as I look into it." Charles affixed his great seal to the intercourse at Brussels on February 13; Henry ratified it on March 9.[33]

Provisions of this treaty of intercourse of 1516 are interesting. The controversy over the perpetuity and validity of the treaty of 1506 was deferred for five years (art. 1). Subjects of both parties were free to travel and trade according to the treaty of 1496 (art. 2). English traders going to Antwerp (in Brabant) were not to pay the Zeeland toll (the *Sewesche* or *Hound Tollen*); those going to Bergen or Middelburg (in Zeeland) were to pay, not the toll of Brabant, but only the Zeeland toll (art. 3). Tolls and customs were to be paid by Netherlanders going to England according to the treaty of 1496 (art. 4). All suits for taxes, tariffs, customs, etc., against the subjects of both princes were to be dropped so that the merchants were to be held and reputed free forever (*in perpetuum*) from all these taxes, etc., as well as from the bonds and guarantees they offered in pledge of payment (art. 5). For these same tolls, moreover,

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P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 169-175. For references to the retreat of the Swiss mercenaries before the French on September 13-14, 1515, cf. *Eras. Ep.*, II, 149, and *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, translated by F. G. Stokes (London, 1909), I, 358.

[33] Rymer, *Foedera*, XIII, 539, 544; *LP*, II, nos. 1262, 1458, 1538, 1645. For negotiations from October to January, cf. also *LP*, II, 1206, 1238, 1291, 1296, 1351, 1384, 1414.

no decrees, sentences, judgments, etc., already passed, were to be carried into execution against merchants of either nation (art. 6). These last two articles seem to have been a triumph for the English who, as has been seen, were constantly threatened with being forced to pay arrearages. According to the provisional treaty of 1507, art. 4, all suits were merely to be suspended. Consequently, a main purpose of the commission of which More had been a member was achieved: "the merchants' necks" would be forever free from "all the arrearages of the Sewestoll and the toll of the Hound, which amounteth to a marvelous sum." Although the intercourse was silent on the freedom of the English (granted in 1506) to sell their cloths in Flanders (at least in bulk) as elsewhere, Bruges had at least not been designated as the staple for English cloth in the Low Countries.[34]

After the return of Thomas More to England, Andrew Ammonius wrote to Erasmus that More had accomplished his mission "with éclat" (*honorifice*). Existing letters from 1515, however, show that More did not at all figure prominently in the negotiations. The active conduct of the affair was evidently in the hands of Tunstal, Sampson, Spinelly, and later Knight. It is necessary to conclude that More and Clifford were on the commission chiefly in an advisory capacity. Independently of the mention of his name in the commissions issued on May 7, 1515, and October 2, 1515, More's signature was affixed to only two surviving letters, those of July 9 and July 21, 1515. What he saw of international economic politics, however, was enough to make him feel indignation, like the Utopians, "then also much more mortally, when their frindes marchauntes in any land, and other vnder the pretence of vniust lawes, or els by the wresting and wronge vnderstonding of good lawes, do sustaine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice."[35]

The sojourn in Flanders brought More into contact with some of the most representative and outstanding men of England and the Netherlands. The capable Sir Edward Poynings seems to have belonged to "the old school," but "the new school" was well represented by Cuthbert Tunstal, Richard Sampson, and William Knight, all of whom were to end their days as bishops. The only two men of ordinary mold were the professional diplomat, Thomas Spinelly, and the professional merchant, John Clifford. As far as the representatives of Charles were concerned, the same variety was apparent. The statesman and diplomat was represented in three men: Guillaume de Croy, Seigneur de Chièvres; Michel de Croy, Seigneur de Sempy; and Jean le Sauvage, Seigneur de Schaubeke. The last of these was a patron of the Renaissance in general and of Erasmus in particular. The nobleman-merchant was seen in Jacques de Halewin, Seigneur de Maldeghem. The person whom Thomas More singled out for special commendation in *Utopia* was an ecclesiastic, skilled in the knowledge of law like himself, and outstanding for his eloquence of tongue and ability in controversy. This was Georges de Themseke, Provost of Cassel, a patron of the new learning. Finally, there was Philippe Wielant, Seigneur de Landeghem, distinguished for his writings on Flemish law and Flemish antiquities. On this embassy, too, More must have spoken with other men of the "new" learning. One is certain of his personal acquaintance with Peter Gilles and Jerome Busleyden. Probably he also met three other scholars connected with the publication of *Utopia:* Joannes Paludanus, Gerardus Noviomagus, and Cornelius Grapheus.[36]

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[34] Rymer, *Foedera,* XIII, 539 ff.; *LP,* II, nos. 204, 1427.

[35] *Utopia,* p. 244; *Eras. Ep.* II, 200; More, *Correspondence,* pp. 16-27.

More's embassy in Flanders put him into contact, even if indirectly through the experiences of his fellow commissioners, with the international politics of the day. One reason for the distressing prolongation of the embassy was the secret dealings of Charles' representatives with France. Yet the caution of Charles' public servants was justified, for, if Charles was to leave the Low Countries in peace and safety to claim his heritage in Spain, he had to make sure of the friendly intentions of the French king, who had, as the *Utopia* notes, plans "to wynne the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie." As one studies the course of the negotiations, the impression becomes very strong that More was being bold, not against England and Henry (as has often been stressed), but against France and Francis. The reference of the "hot" passages to Henry is quite indirect and secondary. The willingness of Francis to use Richard de la Pole against Henry was only one instance of French foreign policy. It would be quite characteristic of More to use his newly acquired knowledge immediately. In this trip of More to the continent, therefore, is discovered the foundation for the enumeration of the difficulties of a councilor of the King of France in the first book of *Utopia* and the much misunderstood section on warfare in the second book. Now More had more intimate knowledge of how princes "haue more delyte in warlike matters and feates of cheualrie, . . . than in the good feates of peace." From the French he learned of the manipulation of treaties, which "be so ofte concluded, broken, and made agayne." At the same time Richard Pace was sent to negotiate for the aid of the mercenaries who are denounced viciously in *Utopia.* The year 1515 marks the beginning of More's own service of Henry VIII, although he did not accept the post of councilor until later. He was to experience soon enough the troubles and heartaches of a royal councilor. In the same year the controversy with Dorp was to bring out More's clearest enunciation of the defects of current Scholasticism and the merits of Greek language and literature. Just as More had included in *Utopia* a discussion of the royal policy and international politics of the time, so also he embodied in the same work a succinct statement of his views on "new" Scholasticism and "old" Greek.[37]

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[36] *Utopia,* pp. lxvi, lxx, xcv-c, 1-12, 313-322.

The close contact with scholars and with the unreasonableness of kings and nations undoubtedly led More to think of a country where reason would prevail—a country which might possibly exist in one of the new worlds being discovered. Faced by the pressing problems of the day, he began in Flanders the second book of his *Utopia* and incorporated in the final draft much of the observation and experience which he had garnered during his embassy. The old and decaying order had to give way to a new order of humanity and reason.[38]

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[37] *Utopia,* pp. 38, 48-49, 81-89, 184-187, 212-219, 238-240, 243-265. In his coronation poem for Henry VIII, More had declared: "As for wars beyond the borders—if the French, for instance, should join with the Scots—no one is afraid, provided that England is not divided." To say nothing of his long quarrel, inspired by patriotism, with Germanus Brixius, he had also written epigrams on the surrender of Tournay to Henry and on the defeat and death of James of Scotland in 1513. Cf. *Latin Epigrams of Thomas More,* pp. 19, 76, 98, 115, 141, 198, 219, 237. More evidently could combine a truly international outlook on European unity with an ardent loyalty to Henry and England. On More's program of Greek studies, cf. the present writer's "Thomas More and the Great Books," *Philological Quarterly,* XXXII (1953), 43-57.

[38] An acute analysis of the structure of *Utopia* and an interesting history of its composition are to be found in Jack H. Hexter's *More's Utopia: The Biography of an Idea* (Princeton, 1952).

MISCELLANY

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND'S EXPERIENCES AS A CIVIL WAR CHAPLAIN

EDITED BY

JAMES P. SHANNON*

In his recent biography of the first Archbishop of St. Paul, Monsignor Moynihan recounts Ireland's trip to Rome in January, 1892, to answer the charges lodged against his Faribault school plan.[1] Shortly before sailing from New York the archbishop spent a few days resting in Atlantic City. Before leaving St. Paul he had been requested by Peter Paul Cooney, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame, to write an account of his experiences as a chaplain during the Civil War. Father Cooney was at this time collecting materials for a proposed history of the chaplain's corps in the Civil War. In a letter to Cooney, written from Atlantic City, Ireland apologized for the obvious haste with which he penned the account of his chaplaincy. However, in spite of its hasty composition, this sixteen-page autograph remains one of the few extant accounts by Ireland of his activities as a young priest.[2]

Archbishop Ireland's plea for more chaplains has a familiar ring for us today, in the light of the urgent appeals of the Military Ordinariate for more priests in the armed services. I have deliberately refrained from correcting or modernizing the spelling or punctuation found in Ireland's letter, feeling that the style, in this instance, reveals something of the author. The reader will notice that as the archbishop warmed to his theme, he shifted the narrative from the third to the first person. With the valuable insight to the person of this great prelate, as given in the Moynihan biography, we can appreciate the strong sense of personal pride which often accompanied his vigorous thought. Undoubtedly, in passing on this manuscript to Father Cooney, the archbishop trusted that its informality and intimate personal revelation would be protected by Cooney's editing. We put Ireland at a disadvantage, therefore, in thus publishing his hasty notes just as he wrote them; however, the student of history learns far more from this account as it is here given than he would from an edited and corrected version.

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[1] James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop Ireland* (New York, 1953), p. 89.

[2] I am indebted to Father Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Archivist of the University of Notre Dame, for making this letter available for use.

The Fifth Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, to which young Father Ireland was first assigned as a chaplain, was the last of Minnesota's quota under the first call of President Lincoln for 500,000 men. It rendezvoused at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, and was recruited during the winter of 1861-1862. The first detachment was mustered into service on December 19, 1861, and the organization was completed on March 20, 1862, with the appointment of the following field and staff officers: colonel, Rudolph von Borgersrode; lieutenant colonel, Lucius F. Hubbard; and major, William B. Gere. Before the regiment was completely organized, Companies B, C, and D were detached and ordered to the Minnesota frontier, where for the spring and summer of 1862 they served as garrisons for Forts Ridgley, Ripley, and Abercrombie during the Sioux Indian outbreak that desolated the western borders of the state in that year.

The seven companies not engaged in frontier service were ordered South in May, 1862, and on May 24 they reported to General John Pope in the field before Corinth, Mississippi, and were assigned to the Second Brigade, First Division, Army of the Mississippi. The Fifth Minnesota Regiment first entered combat in the Battle of Farmington on May 28. This campaign was followed by a succession of forced marches, intended to outflank a retreating column of enemy troops which had just evacuated Corinth. The capture of Corinth by the Union forces resulted in the abandonment by the Confederate armies of western Tennessee, northern Alabama, and northern Mississippi. The Union lines were then established along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad from Memphis on the Mississippi River to Decatur on the Tennessee, and beyond. The Fifth Minnesota lay for some time in Camp Clear Creek, Mississippi, and in August it was given charge of a stretch of this railroad in the vicinity of Tuscumbia, Alabama. While the regiment was on duty here, Colonel von Borgersrode resigned, and, in consequence, Lieutenant Colonel Hubbard and Major Gere were promoted one grade each, and Captain Francis Hall of Company C was commissioned as major. Hubbard and Gere remained in command of the regiment until it was mustered out of service on September 6, 1865; Hall was succeeded by Major John C. Becht on May 1, 1863, and Becht was, in turn, succeeded by Major John P. Houston, on May 10, 1865.[3]

During August, 1862, the Confederate Generals Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price had organized a large force in central Mississippi and had begun moving northward. The Union Army was ordered to concentrate hastily near Corinth. The Fifth Minnesota Regiment was ordered to Iuka, Mississippi, where it joined the balance of the Second Brigade, then commanded by Colonel Murphy of the Eighth Wisconsin. General William S. Rosecrans, who was then in command of the Union Army, determined to attack the Confederate forces under Price in Iuka. On September 19, 1862, the opposing armies clashed at the Battle of Iuka. It was a decisive victory for the Union arms, but the bulk of the Confederates, under Price, made a successful retreat and joined Van Dorn near Pontotoc, Mississippi, some miles southwest of Corinth; and in a few days their combined forces began moving northward. Rosecrans concentrated all available troops in or near Corinth. Many years later (August 26, 1889), in a letter to Archbishop Ireland, Rosecrans gave warm praise to the gallantry and effectiveness of the Minnesota Fifth at the Battle of Corinth.[4] The official account of the Minnesota forces in the Civil War related that "The Fifth Minnesota may justly claim that it saved the day at Corinth. General Stanley, who commanded the division to which it was attached, accorded that credit to the regiment upon the field of battle, as also did General Rosecrans, commander of the Union Army."[5]

Father Ireland accompanied the Fifth Minnesota on its subsequent campaigns through central Mississippi and western Tennessee. Ill health forced his retirement from service on April 3, 1863, shortly before the siege of Vicksburg. The official account of the service of his regiment listed his period of service as extending from June 23, 1862, to April 3, 1863. The latter date differs by a few months of the terminal date mentioned in Ireland's own account; but the reader will remember that a period of nearly thirty years had elapsed between his chaplaincy and his written account of it. It is more difficult to understand the archbishop's mistake about the date of his own ordination. He mentioned December 27, 1861; whereas the official register of ordination, written by Bishop Thomas L. Grace, and quoted in Monsignor Reardon's recent history of the Archdiocese of St. Paul, gives December 22, 1861, as the exact date.[6]

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[3] *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861-1865* (St. Paul, 1890), I, 282.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 263-264.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 263.

Father Cooney, whom Archbishop Ireland addressed as "the Rev. T. Cooney," had been a chaplain in the Civil War, attached to the Army of the Tennessee. He later entered the Congregation of Holy Cross, and was for a time chaplain of the Indiana Irish Regiment. Later, while on the staff at Notre Dame, he began collecting materials for a history of the chaplains' corps which he never completed.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND TO FATHER COONEY

Atlantic City
January 24, '92

My dear Father Cooney,

Having a little leisure, refused to me at home, I have jotted down a few memories of my own "chaplaincy." I scarcely know what you want: when you first wrote to me I hoped I might meet you, and answer viva voce your enquiries. What I now write is given purposedly in loose language, and in chaotic form: so that you may sift, and reject, and retain, and polish. If you desire any specific information, beyond this, write to me "Rome, Collegio Americano del Nord," where I shall be for the next two months.

Sincerely,
John Ireland

FATHER JOHN IRELAND AS A CHAPLAIN

In the early spring of 1862, five regiments of infantry had left for the seat of war, from Minnesota—Catholics being represented in good proportion through all. Catholics were especially numerous in Fifth—composing one third of the regiment. All these regiments, with the exception of the first, were in the West. Rt. Rev. Thos. L. Grace, Bishop of St. Paul, proposed to attend, as far as possible, to the needs of Catholic soldiers. At his request Alexander Ramsey, then Governor of Minnesota, appointed Rev. John Ireland State Chaplain for all Minnesota Regiments. The appointment was peculiar. The chaplain's commission was from the State of Minnesota—not formally recognized by the U. S. Government. The duty of the State Chaplain was to go from one Minnesota regiment to another—the letters of the Governor securing for him from the federal authorities protection, and liberty to travel.

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[6] James M. Reardon, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of St. Paul* (St. Paul, 1952), p. 697.

Father Ireland joined the Fifth Minnesota, at Camp Clear Creek, Mississippi, shortly after the Battle of Pittsburgh Landing and began his ministry. It at once became plain to him that the plan of a general chaplain to Catholics in the several Minnesota regiments could not easily be carried out. A vacancy occurring one month after his arrival in the regimental chaplaincy of the Fifth, the position was tendered to him, and accepted. He remained with the Fifth until the early summer of 1863 when ill health compelled him to resign—leaving his regiment at Duckport, La.—a few miles north of Vicksburg.

Father Ireland was at the time of his appointment quite a youthful priest—having been ordained Dec. 27, 1861—unused as yet to work and hardship. This explains why his health broke down so soon. He certainly had all the enthusiasm that his field of labor called for. Fresh from from [*sic*] the lessons and inspirations of his French Seminary, he looked forward to the hospital tent and battlefield as a possible opportunity for martyrdom—Moreover, a strong sympathizer with the Union, ardent for its preservation. His enthusiasm maintained itself at fever heat the whole time of his chaplaincy—and he retired from the work with deepest regret.

It has been a lasting impression with him, that a grand opportunity had been opened by the war to the Church in America—which opportunity, from whatever cause, was wofully neglected. Numberless thousands of Catholics scattered through the army, never saw a priest during the war. No one was near them at moment [*sic*] of death. Provision should have been made to have a priest attached to each division—The chaplains actually put into the field were a mere handful. A magnificent impression could have been made upon Protestant soldiers by the zeal and exemplary life of priests. As it was, much was done in this line: how much more, if more had been done. Such opportunities but rarely occur. When they do occur, may they be better attended to. Hard to say where the fault was. Priests, of course, were scarce enough in the country: but better have left two parishes to be taken care of by one pastor, and to have followed to field the heroes of the country. One bishop thought it was the business of some other. The misfortune, then, as in other cases, was that the bishops of the Northern States did not come together, and consider jointly what was the duty of the Church in the emergency.

Besides attending to his own regiment, Fr. Ireland gave time and labor to all those within reach of which he came—visiting them—visiting hospitals—riding ten, twenty, and more miles across country, alone, to reach a hospital. Fear never entered his soul: no difficulty was ever experienced from those in command. No disrespect or annoyance ever came to him. The uniform kindness which he experienced from officers and men during the time of his chaplaincy has never been forgotten and has tended largely to form in him the conviction which he holds so deeply that the American people are fair to the Catholic Church—that prejudices exist where Catholics give cause for them, and seldom elsewhere.

He assisted at two battles—Iuka and Corinth—followed the regiment thro Tennessee, Mississippi, and Northern Louisiana.

Hardships, of course—But, withal—delightful time. So sweet to to [*sic*] console sick and wounded—So sweet to sit around campfires with the "boys"—So sweet to chide one, and encourage another. Then, all so good and kind to him—Protestants vieing [*sic*] with Catholics to make him comfortable—to divide with him their last cracker. Strongest ties grew up between him and the soldier. To-day, in his pastoral visitations thro Minnesota, the old Soldiers in each place occupy, de jure, the front seats. He always attends, when at all possible, reunions of old Soldiers, and is the orator on the occasion. The Grand Army, wherever he passes, holds in his honor a special Campfire. Each year the Fifth Minnesota Regiment meets in St. Paul: he is never absent from it.

At the last meeting of this regiment (Sept., 1891) two soldiers, whom he had not met since the days of war, took affectionately his hand. One of them had been in 1862 taken down with Small-pox, near Germantown, Miss.—and had been placed under cover of a small tent at safe [*sic*] distance from the camp. Another soldier had volunteered and had been allowed to stay with and nurse him. For many weary days they were alone—their spirits drooping: the one cheering circumstance was the occasional visit of the young chaplain—Each one told the story to the "boys" at the reunion. Both were Protestants—.

Incidents: At battle [*sic*] of Corinth the chaplain attended the wounded from early morning till late in the afternoon—when friends insisted on his going off to take some food. As he passed a tent, at some distance from the regular hospital tent, a soldier, from an Ohio regiment, unaware, heretofore of his presence, recognized him as a priest, and told him that a man was dying, who, it was thought was a Catholic. He went to him: The wounded man was conscious, but life fast ebbing away [*sic*]. He had never been to confession, had not attended Mass for a score of years: Scarcely knew the principal mysteries of the Faith. Have you been at all remembering your religion? queried the priest. I lost my mother, said the soldier, when I was nine years old. Once she had made me promise that I would each day say a Hail-Mary. I have done that—and nothing more. The wounded man was instructed, received the Sacraments, died with best dispositions. The "Ave" had merited grace for him.

He once visited a hospital near Jackson, Tenn—toward evening, work unfinished, he was compelled to leave off and go back, as his regiment was under orders to march the following day. He wore a heavy grey military overcoat—military hat—As he passed before a tent, a sick soldier exclaimed—There goes a priest: Call him. The attendant reluctantly obeyed—not recognizing the priest, and dubiously asking, of the person passing, if he indeed was a priest. No report of the presence of the chaplain on the hospital grounds had, it was positively ascertained, reached that tent. Fr. Ireland always believed that the recognition of him by the sick man was a special grace. It was deserved: the man was youthful in years, about 22 years old, innocent in face, and in soul. Among other things, during two year's service, he had scrupulously observed the abstinences [*sic*] Fridays, not aware of the exemption. Now, in a soldier, this was heroic— as it usually allowed him but crackers and water.

His manner of doing, on battlefields and in hospitals was to pass along —saying: I am a priest—Are there any Catholics here? The Catholics would say: I am one: Very well: Make your confession—And it was made. Once he visited a tent of convalescents and put the usual question. No affirmative answer came. Yet one face wore a look of enquiry. The question was repeated—the soldier came out—and as he walked along with the chaplain, said: Well, I am a Catholic—But do I know that you are a priest—You look somewhat like one: but there are ministers around calling themselves priests—There are jokers ready to make fun and play play [*sic*] tricks. I would like to go to confession: but I have much to tell: it is a serious matter. Never but in this instance was a doubt of his priesthood spoken to the chaplain. Well, he said, I don't blame you. I respect you: I cannot prove to you my priesthood—I am 15 miles from my regiment. But I swear to you I am a priest. Well, said the poor man, I chance it. They both sat down under a tree. A half-hour later on, the soldier in tears was exclaiming: Oh I know you are a priest and that I am forgiven. Thanks be to God.

It was a great joy to the Catholic soldier to have a priest near him. He went joyfully into battle, when he had unburthened himself of his sins in the tribunal of Penance. Hearing Mass on Sunday morning kept the precious memories of home fresh in his mind. The presence of the priest was a perpetual check upon all tendencies toward demoralization. Many, who before enlisting, had been far removed from religious practices, became in the army good Catholics.

The contrary often happened in regiments seldom or never visited by a priest. The Catholics grew savage—worse than they had been before enlisting. I remember a regiment—I occasionally met with it—nearly all composed of Catholics. They had sought for a priest at the time of their organization: but none had been given to them. A delegation of men from this regiment visited the priests of Memphis, as they were passing thro this city, begging for a chaplain. The priests, of course, had only to refer them to higher authority. Again and again the plea went out. At last, after a few years, when they were visited by a priest, they had grown reckless and very indifferent to religion.

One moon-lit night, the eve of the battle of Iuka, I sat under a tree, until day-light hearing confessions. A long string of men, waiting each for his turn, indicated my whereabouts. A passing soldier, a non-Catholic, was heard asking: What are you men doing? Don't mind, poor fellow: It is nothing that can do you any good.

Are you sorry for your sins? Said I to a hard case, kneeling before me. Sorry, Father, is it? Don't you hear the rattle of musketry along the picket-lines.

Several non-Catholics were received into the Church.

On one occasion, an officer was dying—shot in face—blood pouring out. He wrote on a slip of paper: "Chaplain," and the slip, red with blood, was carried around by a soldier, seeking for a chaplain. It was handed to me. I hurried: the man was conscious—dying fast. "Speak to me, he said, of Jesus." He had been baptized—There was no time to talk of Church. I talked of the Savior, and of sorrow for sin. The memory of that scene has never been effaced from my mind. I have not doubted the salvation of that soul.

My years of chaplaincy were the happiest and most fruitful years of my ministry.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Church in the Christian Roman Empire. By J. R. Palanque, G. Bardy, and P. de Labriolle. Translated by Ernest C. Messenger. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xv, 731. $9.00.)

This scholarly volume (rather two volumes in one) is a translation of the Fliche-Martin series of more than twenty volumes now nearing completion. The translation of the first two volumes appeared a few years ago under the title, *History of the Primitive Church* by Lebreton and Zeiller. It is the hope of the publishers to render into English the entire set. As can be readily anticipated, this volume betrays all the thorough scholarship and technical skill of top-notch historians of the Church. One is particularly gratified with the continual reliance upon original sources, chiefly the patristic authors. These sources are used with excellent discrimination and the attempt at complete objectivity is scrupulously maintained. The quotations from the fathers interspersing the authors' text are aptly chosen.

This over-sized volume is restricted in content to the Church of the fourth century, corresponding to the third volume of Fliche-Martin. Beginning with the peace of the Church in the Roman Empire and its new religious policy of 312-313, Palanque continues with excellent and detailed chapters on Donatism and Arianism—the latter running through nearly 300 pages. The relations between Christianity and paganism in the fourth century are also given adequate treatment. One may disagree with some of the author's conclusions or interpretations as, e.g., his appeal to Baynes, an accepted authority on Constantine, regarding the genuineness of the latter's visions. To the present reader it appears that he has misunderstood Baynes. Nevertheless, the thoroughness and sobriety of Palanque's judgments are well worthy of imitation by other historians. It is a well known fact that most of our Church history textbooks only too readily place the blame for Caesaropapism at the feet of the Christian emperors. Here, by way of example, is Palanque's concise and accurate conclusion:

> The responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the Emperor, and also with churchmen. Eusebius, with a naïf authoritarianism, always viewed ecclesiastical problems from the standpoint of the State: hence the mistakes he made first in Africa, and then in the East. On the other hand, the religious leaders seem to have done nothing to vindicate their liberty: Silvester as well as Hosius, Eusebius and Athanasius, Donatus and Arius—all solicited or tolerated the interventions of the prince. Those who benefited by the imperial interventions were not the only ones to bow to them: the victims proclaimed their innocence

or protested against their sentences but did not question the principle of State intervention (p. 68).

In his discussion of the Arian controversy Palanque brings out a noteworthy point, viz., that the majority of bishops in the East never were strictly Arian. They had repudiated Arianism repeatedly, but shied away from the Nicene *homoousion* because of their fear of Sabellianism—"their faith was in any case more orthodox than some of their expressions" (p. 191).

The second half of this volume (or Volume II as indicated) again exhibits the same lofty scholarship in its discussion of the internal life of the Church in the fourth century. Here the authors treat of the origins of early monasticism, morality and spirituality, Christian culture, metropolitan sees, expansion of Christianity, and Catholicism as a state religion. While again the procedure is strictly scientific, never overstepping the bounds pre-determined by the sources, this latter section appears to lack the coherence of the first half of the volume. In the approximately 100 pages devoted to the origins of monasticism, Labriolle shows great erudition and succeeds in giving much valuable information. Yet the entire discussion could, perhaps, have been developed more logically and have presented a better over-all picture. Likewise, the lengthy treatment of the metropolitan sees of the East and West provides rather dull reading. Nevertheless, the lists of bishops and bishoprics are valuable. The entire chapter on "Christian Culture" presents a unique point of view and offers some very clever insights on the fathers of the Church, e.g., St. Basil (pp. 577-582).

It is unfortunate, however, that this superlative work in Church history is assembled in such a cumbersome volume. Actually it is two volumes in one, and is marked as such, even though the pagination is continuous. No doubt the item of cost precluded the publication of two separate volumes. This volume contains no maps and even the inclusion of the one map of the French edition, indicating the insignificant and little known bishoprics, would have enhanced the value of this work. But the greatest defect of such a monumental work as this is that it has no index. One is promised at the completion of the set, but even that will never be satisfactory. *Proh dolor!*

This review would not be complete without a word of commendation for the translator, Father Messenger. The English style is direct and matter-of-fact, aptly suited to a work of this calibre. The very infrequent printing and technical slips can very easily be condoned. The bibliography is excellent and supplemented by fine critical comments, but no modern works after 1935 have been included. Certainly some few contributions of the past twenty years, including some English publications, should have been incorporated into the bibliography. The general excellence of this work cannot be exaggerated and no historian can afford to be without it. May the next several years see the rapid translation of the remaining volumes of Fliche-Martin!

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The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa. By W. H. C. Frend. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xvii, 360. $7.00.)

This is the first full length treatment of the Donatists ever written in English and it is not likely to be superseded. The author brings unusual qualifications to his task, for apart from his studies in England, France, and Germany he has had the advantage of residence in North Africa and of participation in the latest archaeological discoveries there. Other works, some of them recent, have dealt with special aspects of Donatism, such as the problems it posed for Augustine, Constantine, and Newman, but no one else has told us so fully and clearly just what it was, how and where it originated, and why it received the support that enabled it to last for centuries. Dr. Frend tells all this and more, so his book must be regarded as an important contribution to Church history.

The conquest of North Africa involved the Romans in problems that are all too familiar in our own time, and it is easy now to see why their achievement there was doomed to be superficial and transient. The division of the country between two races, the Carthaginians and Berbers, with different languages and economies, was bound to cause friction even when both groups paid nominal allegiance to the same religion as the conqueror. The Romans, secure in their hold on the coastal cities of Proconsular Africa and Numidia, were able to impose a certain external uniformity and to extend their civilization to the upper classes in Carthage. They never succeeded in winning the allegiance of the lower classes in Carthage or of most of the Berbers, and the further one went from the coast the feebler was their hold. The Berbers in the hinterland were firmly attached to their own way of life and, like their modern descendants, were not deeply affected by the concessions made to meet the conqueror's demands. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the Church, linked with Rome by many Carthaginians and with both Rome and Carthage by the Berbers, had so much difficulty in maintaining her position. The Carthaginians exploited the Berbers and the Romans exploited both races. The social problem was acute and the reliance of the Catholics on Roman aid made it practically impossible for them to tackle it with sufficient force. To many people the Church must have seemed the ally of the foreign oppressor as well as of the native exploiter of the poor, and so as a force that must be resisted.

To all these problems, which have appeared in other countries, must be added some peculiar to that time and place, such as the unfortunate effects of the mass conversion of the illiterate and poverty-stricken multitude, and the fanaticism and violence endemic in the Africans of all races. The upper classes shared the latter to the full, and in all classes there were signs of an imperfect renunciation of their pagan beliefs. Even before they denied specific doctrines, many had distorted Christianity. The exaggerated emphasis on martyrdom, the nature of which was misunderstood, and the equally extravagant views on disciplinary matters made an explosion almost inevitable. The irrational violence with which the dissidents clung to and expressed their views made serious argument a waste of time in dealing with most of them. Add to all of this the inadequate training of many of the clergy, with its consequent disciplinary problems, and the effects of persecution, and it is easy to see why the path of the orthodox was so thorny. The religious, social, economic, and political ferment in North Africa was such that not even the presence of the common foe could resolve the bitter conflicts of the Christian groups, and finally all of them were overrun by the Moslems, and for a thousand years the Church in that area has been practically dead.

Though the rise and fall of the Church in North Africa may seem remote from our present discontents it has left a permanent mark on the Universal Church. It produced great figures like Cyprian, Augustine, Tertullian, and Pope Victor I. The search for a solution to its problems caused Augustine to take the fateful step of seeking an alliance with the state for the purpose of crushing heresy by force. Its history has many lessons for us all, and readers of this excellent book will be grateful to Dr. Frend for the masterly way in which he tells his sad and complicated story. The book is supplied with three very helpful maps together with a comprehensive bibliography. On page 191, note 5, for the French form "Nazianze" substitute "Naziansus."

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Peter Speaks Through Leo. The Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. By Francis X. Murphy, C.SS.R. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 132. $2.75.)

Taking his title from the acclamation of the bishops during its second session, Father Murphy has given us a fresh and dramatic presentation of the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) and the events leading up to it. *Peter Speaks Through Leo,* written in anticipation of the fifteenth centenary of the council, is intended as an historical commentary on, as well as a synthesis of, the acts of Chalcedon, the decisions of which were of incalculable importance for the history of Christendom, both in the East and in the West. The present volume includes, in new translation, the more important documents pertinent to Chalcedon, such as the Tome of Pope Leo I, the dogmatic portions of St. Cyril's letter to Bishop John of Antioch, the definition of faith rendered by the council, the creeds of Nicaea and of Constantinople, the allocution of the Emperor Marcian, the so-called "twenty-eighth canon," and the report of the bishops to both the emperor and the pope.

After a chapter describing the *dramatis personae* and another presenting the immediate historical background, the period from the Council of Ephesus to that of Chalcedon (431-451), the author devotes seven colorful chapters to the seventeen sessions of the fourth ecumenical council. There follows a brief treatment of Pope Leo's reaction to the decisions of the council, and an epilogue which sketches the beginnings of the widespread revolt against Chalcedon in Egypt and in Syria, and their subsequent capitulation to Monophysitism.

Father Murphy's book underscores Christopher Dawson's comment that "of all the councils . . . Chalcedon is the most remarkable for its dramatic interest and its historical results." Indeed, the author's portrayal of the events of the council with special attention to their setting, gives his account something of the flavor of a scenario, without any sacrifice of accuracy. The whole work is carefully documented, with principal reference to the various acts and collections of canons and letters pertaining to Chalcedon as edited by Eduard Schwartz in his *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum.* The present Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, has pointed out the particular significance of Chalcedon with regard to "the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, which emerges clearly from the very serious Christological controversy," and with regard to dogmatic definition. *Peter Speaks Through Leo* is an adequate handbook for the reader who wishes to consider carefully this historic council and its attendant circumstances.

Unfortunately, the volume is marred by a few instances of poor grammatical usage, and by such typographical oversights as "in" for "it" (p. 10), "scrouple" for "scruple" (p. 22), "magnificance" for "magnificence" (p. 31), and "acertained" for "ascertained" (p. 109).

EDWARD J. DUNCAN

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The Origin and Development of Early Christian Church Architecture. By J. G. Davies. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. xiii, 152. $4.75.)

The publisher's jacket introduces the author of this book as lecturer in theology at the University of Birmingham. It would appear that the title of the work should have been more precise. In the present instance following the word "Architecture" should have been the phrase "in the East," since the volume has such strong predilection for the "eastern" school of Christian antiquity. It is true that the theories of Strzygowski are not given entire force and effect, but they are so frequently referred to that the end result is the same. The work is well done if this qualification be first accepted. There are six chapters: Geographical and Historical Background; The Basilica; The Central Type of Architecture; The Orientation and Furniture of the Church; Adjoining Buildings; and Geographical Distribution.

Evidence of the "slanted" approach is to be found in the first chapter: "But the Christian country par excellence in the pre-Constantinian era was neither Persia nor even Syria but Asia Minor, where the expansion was from the first very swift" (p. 5). And the following sentence makes the emphasis more apparent: "The church of Rome was founded by unknown missionaries at an early date and was already important when St. Paul wrote to it" (pp. 7-8). The chapters on the basilica and the central type of architecture, which occupy the major portion of the volume, offer good statements in English of information in other publications, chiefly German, which have been known to architectural students for a number of years. They should be of interest to the general reader, always bearing in mind that they neglect largely the contribution of Rome.

A chapter on the geographical distribution of the early churches is interesting in that it lists those in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and Lower Nubia. In all of these there apparently is no earlier specific date than the Church of St. James, Nisibis, built in 350-365. Of Italy the author writes: "It is natural in a review of early Christian architecture in Italy to begin with Rome, where there are not only many churches surviving intact, but where there are the traces of many more revealed by excavation." Among these the author then mentions San Stephano Rotondo, and Sta. Costanza (324-326). Old St. Peter's was, of course, built in 333. These are earlier by definite date than any of the churches mentioned in the East, although after the Constantinian conversion.

In short, Mr. Davies' work is excellent within its scope, but the true scope should be to present the complete picture of the development of church architecture, both East and West. It should be apparent that in this history there must have been a great number of cross influences, cosmopolitan patrons, roaming artists, and craftsmen. Style is not always bound to its locale; quite the contrary; for example, the new United Nations buildings in New York are influenced chiefly by European architectural thought—yet they are undeniably American because they are also skyscrapers.

It is to be hoped that the author will later present a work which will recognize frankly that whether in the East or West there were strong influences brought to bear on early church architecture and that proof of its origin in one or another area is almost impossible at this date. Furthermore, the foundation of the Church itself does not depend in the least on the settlement of an architectural controversy.

H. L. McGill Wilson

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The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages. By Ludwig, Freiherr von Pastor. Translated by E. F. Peeler. Volumes XXXVIII-XL. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1952-1953. Pp. xvi, 602; xvi, 496; xvi, 410. $7.50 per volume.)

An accurate, smooth translation completes, somewhat belatedly, a project inaugurated back in 1891 of turning into English this enduringly valuable monument of historical scholarship. Not resorting to the Italian version, as did the translators of many of the preceding volumes unfortunately, Mr. Peeler has worked manfully from the German original. A goodly portion of the text flows from the pen of Pastor; but collaborators like Drs. Wühr, Schmidlin, and Vierneisel and the Jesuits, Kneller and Kratz, have prepared several chapters. Before all of his own part of the manuscript was in finished form, death overtook the great historian in 1928. On others devolved the task of incorporating all the collected material for posthumous publication in 1932-1933. Maintained to the end, however, are the characteristics associated with this series: sound critical method; objective judgment; clear, synthetic presentation; massive learning and thorough documentation, the fruit of exhaustive archival research and familiarity with the pertinent literature in all tongues. Pastor conceived the proper scope of his vast undertaking early and well; he realized what should be omitted from a history of the popes, what should be included, and in what proportion. His aim was not a history of the modern papacy, as an institution. That remains a desideratum. Eager to attain his goal—the close of the eighteenth century—before health and eyesight failed, he did, to be sure, in his later volumes treat with less than customary fullness some matters of less than prime concern.

Among the most significant of modern pontificates, and most dramatic in a tragic way, were the two here unfolded. Their predominant concern was with politico-religious disputes, Pastor's forte. They found the Vatican continually on the defensive, seemingly helpless against the aggressions of absolutist governments. Clement XIV's short rule, 1769-1774, merits an entire volume because of one question which dwarfed all others, viz., the abolition of the Society of Jesus. Attention is focused almost exclusively on the successful campaign, manipulated by the Bourbon courts, to force the pontiff to decree the order out of existence. Curiously little light is thrown on the efforts of the Jesuits and their allies to ward off annihilation! So volatile is this topic, so controverted the figure of the Franciscan pope, that one reaction to the first appearance of this book was a public denial that the real author's name appeared on the cover. The upshot was to establish the fact that Pastor had reserved to himself these crucial sections, save for the important, eighty-two-paged chapter on the conclave, composed by Father Kratz.

It is this conclave of 1769, in which no one disposed to perpetuate the life of the order could escape the veto of a Bourbon power, which supplies "the key to the understanding of the policy and tribulations of Clement XIV." Thwarted by Clement XIII, these Bourbon states were determined that his successor should be committed to their views. Thanks to the daily reports from their agents among the electors—in violation of the imposed secrecy—our knowledge of the balloting is very detailed, if one-sided. Although the Jesuit party numbered a majority of the cardinals, Ganganelli emerged victor by intimating to each of the opposing factions that he belonged to it. Exploded, however, is the story that a formal, simoniacal promise to wipe out the Jesuits was his price of victory.

Pastor's estimate of Clement XIV is exceedingly severe as having been one of the weakest popes, too yielding to princes, a failure in nearly everything. Timidity rendered him dilatory, vacillating, secretive. Ambition, his other crowning fault, impelled him as a lowly friar to seek first the red hat, then the tiara. Ambition it was, rather than personal conviction, which appears to have dictated a reversal of his openly friendly attitude toward the Jesuits when this became a hindrance to advancement. For four years the unhappy pontiff temporized, anxious to avoid the decisive step. Worn down by unrelenting diplomatic pressure and threats, he finally signed the brief of suppression in 1773, motivated by a desire to preserve peace in the Universal Church, not by assent to the charges against the Jesuits. Behind the schemings of the victorious enemies of the order lay the hope of weakening the papacy by removing its stoutest bulwark. No proof is forthcoming that Clement XIV ever regretted his decision. He saw to the execution of the brief in various countries, and observed its effects, particularly disastrous in the educational field and in the missions.

Volumes XXXIX and XL are needed for the pontificate of Pius VI (1775-1799), longest up to then since St. Peter's. Its sombre record, largely one of tribulations, is brightened a bit by forty pages on the revival of Rome as a tourist magnet, encouraged by Pius VI, the real founder of the Vatican Museum of Antiquities, and enthusiastic patron of the arts. Equal space is accorded to the missions. Growth of the Church in British North America, traced in a page and a half, was there the principal development. Establishment of the American hierarchy is passed over in a few lines. A long chapter of 150 pages recounts the survival of the Society of Jesus in Prussia and Russia, possible because official promulgation of the papal document there was forbidden. Despite the Bourbon clamor for complete destruction, Pius VI refrained from positive action. On the other hand, though well disposed toward the order, he promised never to restore it; nor would such a move then have proved feasible.

Persistent endeavors by Catholic governments to set up what were equivalently national churches gains extensive treatment. Austria under Joseph II, Naples, Tuscany, Venice, influenced by Gallican, Jansenist, Febronian, or "enlightened" notions, tried to nullify the authority of Rome and to regulate internal ecclesiastical business. To put a stop to Josephinism, Pius VI even journeyed to Vienna, a fruitless venture as it turned out, notwithstanding the external deference to the visitor at court and the extraordinary manifestations of affectionate loyalty everywhere by the faithful. Separatist tendencies were also active within the hierarchy. Jansenism in Italy, promoted by Bishop Ricci, resulted in the Synod of Pistoia. Febronianism displayed its vitality in Germany at the Congress of Ems, famous for the issuance of the Punctation.

From 1789 onward the French Revolution, the subject monopolizing the final volume, towered over all other concerns. The religious aspects of this upheaval have been carefully investigated by French scholars, resulting in the printing of documents and numerous excellent studies. Pastor summarizes these findings, original research of his own being neither necessary nor in evidence. He has a penetrating analysis of the external splendor and inner hollowness of ecclesiastical France under the old regime. Abuses permeated nowhere more than in high places. Nothing short of a revolution probably could have purged them. In the early stages of the movement, the poor, plebeian secular priests, envious of the wealthy, privileged, aristocratic higher clergy, were among the most fervent partisans of civil and religious reforms. But as more and more extreme Jacobin groups seized control, their aims were patently not purification, but destruction of Christianity. Pius VI, a man of the old regime in outlook, could not hinder wholesale secularization of ecclesiastical property, suppression of religious orders, persecution and exile of the clergy, supplanting of Catholic worship by the cult of reason and that of the Supreme Being. Likewise ineffectual was his protest against the retention of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, a piece of legislation creating a schismatical church, which split the priesthood into two hostile camps, jurors and non-jurors.

Impenetrable gloom shrouded the close of the pontificate of Pius VI. His spiritual influence dimmed, he was also compelled to witness the extinction of the temporal power, with the seizure of Avignon, and the French occupation of the Papal States. To cap his misfortunes, the dying octogenarian was dragged off unceremoniously to France, there to die almost unattended in an abandoned building hastily converted into a wretched prison. With his inglorious demise, as many exulted, the papacy itself seemed doomed to perpetual oblivion. One can marvel at its resurgence in the nineteenth century as belonging in the class of moral miracles.

Now that Pastor's complete work is before us in English it is to be hoped that the projected topical and personal name index to the series can be carried into execution.

JOHN F. BRODERICK

Weston College

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Story of American Protestantism. By Andrew Landale Drummond. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 418, $6.00.)

Dr. Drummond has written a sweeping survey of American Protestantism in one volume. It is little more than a survey since the author draws entirely on secondary references for his sources, has obviously investigated no archival deposits, and reaches a mosaic of conclusions which can easily be traced to his main dependencies. The researches of Sweet, Miller, Morison, Garrison, Van Wyck Brooks, Latourette, Sperry, and Hough can easily be recognized in this conglomerate. The author recognizes his obligation to these authors in his preface, but his own effort is far too doctrinaire and popular in technique to merit acceptance as a serious study.

Drummond follows the procedure he has employed in earlier works for this broad summary. Here he divides the Protestant history of the United States into five large sections: colonial genesis, unification, sectionalism, frontier and the faith, and modern American religion. All is written from the viewpoint of a foreign observer with the characteristic prejudices of a traditional Scotch Presbyterianism and a mitigated Anglicanism predominating. Then a coating of the liberal social gospel, "good deeds" philosophy, mistrust of "dogma," and the dream of Protestant unity complete his subjective treatment of a far more complex historical problem than the author seems to appreciate. His main aim appears to be an effort to introduce his English readers into the differences between British and continental Protestantism over against American Protestantism. The Beacon Press makes little contribution to objective and careful American religious history by this edition. Drummond's style is interesting, however, and his frequent use throughout the book of direct phrases and quotations will afford the reader some picturesque passages.

There are eight direct references in the book to "Roman Catholics." All are tinged with surprising prejudice, not to mention a complete and thorough lack of understanding of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. Drummond has obviously consulted little of the bibliography of American Catholic history, betrays a consistent anti-Irish bias, and fills each reference with the typical clichés on authoritarianism, papal power, hierarchical domination, and foreignism. His factual mistakes concerning American Catholicism are also numerous.

COLMAN J. BARRY

St. John's University
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The Franciscans Came First. By Fanchón Royer. (Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 195. $2.50.)

The Tenth Muse. (Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 179. $2.50.)

No reader could doubt that these books constitute a labor of love. *The Franciscans Came First* is a gracious story of missionary zeal and splendid achievement told in a manner to attract young readers. In short biographical sketches nine distinct personalities are drawn. Six of these recreate well known heroes of Franciscanism in New Spain: Pedro de Gante, Toribio de Benavente (Montolinía), Juan de Zumárraga, Martín de Valencia, Junípero Serra, and Don Vasco de Quiroga, the last not himself a friar but a loyal friend to the order. The other three sketches introduce less familiar figures: Pedro de Betancourt, member of the Franciscan Third Order and later founder of a nursing brotherhood, who made a noteworthy contribution to the nursing profession; Sebastián de Aparicio, builder of highways in sixteenth-century Mexico, who achieved fame before his entrance into religion and sanctity after his religious profession; and, lastly, Antonio Margil de Jesús, personification of St. Francis' spirit of joy, who lived out almost a century and brought holiness to himself and renown to his community. Mrs. Royer is to be commended for bringing together in one book these worthy exemplars of

Franciscanism in New Spain and for re-emphasizing the magnificent work of the friars.

The Tenth Muse is less successful because the biography of Sor Juana Inéz de las Cruz does not so readily lend itself to the simplified treatment Mrs. Royer applies. The account will disappoint the reader who hoped to gain a deeper insight into the life and work of this sixteenth-century nun-scholar. While regretting the absence of this larger achievement, one should not overlook the actual accomplishments of this first English biography of Sor Juana Inéz de las Cruz. Mrs. Royer gives the reader glimpses into the early life and training of Juana that make plausible both the reasons why she entered religion from motives of security and convenience and the fact that she eventually awakened spiritually and dedicated herself unreservedly to God. The author reproduces in readable translation the nun's famous *La carta atenagorica.* Sor Juana's refutation of Father Vieira's theological proposition, together with her substitute proposition and its sound theological defense, are cited to prove Sor Juana's remarkable grasp of theology. This disputation is the only one of Sor Juana's works to be given in translation. A number of her poems in the original Spanish are supplied in an appendix. *The Tenth Muse* leaves the reader wishing that fanciful details had been omitted and more factual material supplied to uphold the assertion that this sixteenth-century Mexican poet and intellectual deserves to be called "one of the great women of the world."

SISTER MARY CRESCENTIA THORNTON

Clarke College

The History of Canada, or New France. By François du Creux, S.J. Translated with an introduction by Percy J. Robinson; edited with notes by James B. Conacher. Two Volumes. (Toronto: Publications of the Champlain Society. XXX. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 775, xv.)

The chief sources of information for the early seventeenth century in Canada are the *Works* of Champlain, Sagard's *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons,* and the *Jesuit Relations.* The Champlain Society has republished annotated editions of the first two, and the *Relations* have long been available in the splendid Thwaites edition. Now Dr. Robinson has translated the official summary of the *Relations,* the *Historia Canadensis* of François du Creux with an introduction, while Mr. Conacher has edited and annotated the text. The publication fills a definite need, since lack of interest in Latin literature has made du Creux's history one of the rarest items of Canadiana.

Though the successive annual relations of the Canadian missions were beautifully printed by Sebastian Cramoisy, they made little impact on seventeenth-century France. The Jesuits sought to make the French more aware of the Canadian mission by appointing François du Creux as historian in 1643, with the special task of publishing works in Latin. It was hoped that this classical scholar might win the attention of the cultivated public, which had completely ignored the relations. Du Creux set to work at once, but digressed to publish several lives of saints and edit Greek and Latin grammars. Not until 1644 was the *Historia Canadensis* offered to the public. Composed in the form of ten books and embracing the years 1625-1658, it presented more the appearance of a series of letters than that of a narrative history. Its faults were fairly obvious: Sagard and Lescarbot were too little used, the brief period of Recollect activity was almost totally ignored, incidents like the founding of Montreal were not set in proper perspective, and material from the annual relations (the main source) was selected with more attention to literary possibilities than to the mere narration of sober fact. In short, the work was as much a *tour de force* in Latin prose composition as it was a history

Yet it is a little too much to say, as J. H. Kennedy does in *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (New Haven, 1951), that ". . . du Creux culled from the Relations examples of Indian atrocity, wove them into a narrative of the growth of the missions, and issued the whole as a history of Canada" (p. 180). The history of Canada is presented, even if the presentation is a little unbalanced. Indian atrocities there are in abundance, for du Creux admitted that his book was a plea for more adequate defense of the missions; but the author balances accounts with the Indians by great stress on their virtues, both natural and supernatural. Moreover, he incorporated in the history some factual material gleaned from conversations with the missionaries, notably Jogues and Bressani, and frequently he offered biographical data on individuals which is not available elsewhere. The *History of Canada* is not a full epitome of the twenty-two volumes it purports to cover, but it remains a work which cannot be neglected if one would gain a full knowledge of the period.

Dr. Robinson's translation of the book is excellent throughout, and that is no mean accomplishment in seventeenth-century Latin. The introduction contains bio-bibliographical data on François du Creux, a few jottings on the French literature of the Catholic Reformation which are not too happily chosen, and it concludes with a very important note, not otherwise published, on Jerome Lalement's part in developing the Jesuit Indian policy which took shape between 1640 and 1660. Mr. Conacher has carefully indicated the sources of du Creux's facts, and his explanatory notes are models of conciseness and clarity. The map, illustrations, and title-page are reproduced from the original printing of 1664. The

Champlain Society is to be congratulated on the appearance of these volumes the format of which matches Cramoisy's best.

MICHAEL B. McCLOSKEY

Siena College

Arms and the Monk: The Trappist Saga in Mid-America. By M. M. Hoffman. (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co. 1952. Pp. ix, 233. $3.00.)

With a good change of pace the reader is carried along on this Cistercian odyssey: Monte Cassino, Citeaux, La Trappe, England, Ireland, Canada, and the United States, arriving very shortly and with an adequate background at New Melleray, near Dubuque, Iowa, in 1849. Here the principal voyage begins, for in 1849 Dom Bruno Fitzpatrick of Mount Melleray Abbey, Ireland, founded New Melleray. The pro-Cistercian first Bishop of Dubuque, Mathias Loras, had invited the Trappists to his diocese—not all bishops felt that way—and he had even donated the land.

The Trappist contemplative life seemed anachronistic to many contemporary bustling, activist Americans. But farming and purebred cattle brought fame to the monastery, and the monastery's reckless expansion was quite in the American spirit after the Civil War. In fact, in this they were too American. With Brother Mary Bernard Murphy as housekeeper, business manager, and bursar New Melleray became a big livestock producer. Then came the crash in 1879 which almost ruined the monastery. Economically the Trappists were another group of farmers caught in the agricultural expansion, expensive credit, and depression of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Pulling out of this material debacle, the monks still faced a spiritual one—a dearth of vocations. The Isle of Saints had to furnish the recruits, and the pioneers were passing to their eternal reward. Not until after World War I did native vocations take hold. Then New Melleray grew rapidly, counting over 100 members by its centennial year, and—thanks in part to vocations among veterans of World War II—135 by 1950.

Compressed in this short volume the author has given an authoritative and lively history of New Melleray Abbey. Monsignor Hoffman, author of *The Church Founders of the Northwest* (Milwaukee, 1937), knows the secular and ecclesiastical history of his region. His authority is sufficient to dispense with footnotes in the interest of a short and readable story. The bibliography, mostly unprinted manuscript collections, gives his sources.

This reviewer found *Arms and the Monk* far more interesting than he did Vergil's saga years ago. Fortunately, the picture of the monks as "soldiers" of Christ is not overdrawn; in fact, the human personalities stand out. Through a century of monastic heroism one sees also the human foibles: eastern ecclesiastical opposition (caution: the reviewer is also some distance from the Atlantic Coast), the wanderings of the erratic Brother Macarius Keegan, eccentric Father Bernard McCaffrey, the big-time operations of Brother Mary Bernard Murphy, and, most stimulating of all, those frequent glimpses into the annals of Brother Kieran Mullany with his outspoken comments on persons and things. The reader will find this voyage enjoyable and profitable. For the scientific mariner there are a few statistical charts in the appendix, and there also the amateur can find any necessary explanation of Cistercian terms and practices.

ANTHONY H. DEYE

University of Notre Dame

The Catholic Church and German Americans. By Colman J. Barry, O.S.B. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1953. Pp. xii, 348. $6.00.)

The illuminating story that Father Barry unfolds in this book makes manifest to what extent the Church has come of age. In our day the acrimonious controversies that agitated the 1880's and 1890's of the last century would be unthinkable. Written with rare skill, the volume gives a straightforward, masterly account of a dispute, characterized by intemperate language, distortions of incidents, colored versions of facts, lies garbed in half-truths, falsehoods through omissions, uncharitable opinions, and unjustifiable judgments, such as have not marked the history of the Church in the United States before or after that period. The press was the real malefactor in the piece. It played a shameful role in the quarrel.

The book is amazing. The author does not blink the facts as they revealed themselves in the more than a thousand pages of documents, newspaper articles, and other publications he consulted for his study. He writes with the easy sureness of a master of his subject. All who are interested in the growth of the Church in our country will be fascinated by the story of episodes unique in her history, sketched with a smooth and winning pen. Historians, above all, will want to read it. Not only is new light thrown on such controversial issues as Cahenslyism, the Lucerne and Abbelen Memorials, the School Question, Americanism, and other allied events, but new approaches for further studies in American Catholic history have been opened up. The further research that this scholarly study will stimulate, apart from the thrilling account it gives of a most interesting phase of the growth of the Church in the States, alone would have justified he writing of it.

In his assiduous search for authoritative data Father Barry struck gold-bearing lodes. For instance, the author found much untapped primary material in the voluminous correspondence of the late Dr. Herman Heuser, editor for many years of the *American Ecclesiastical Review.* Then, by a chance visit to the archives of the Abbey of St. Paul Outside the Walls of Rome, the correspondence of Abbot Bernard Smith, O.S.B., a key figure in the controversy, was discovered. Among his incoming American letters 3,168 of unusual importance were unearthed. In the appendix the full text of pertinent documents, such as the Abbelen and Lucerne Memorials is given. The translation of German writings and publications used in the book is excellent.

The last pages of the volume on "The Sources" outline the story of the travels of Father Barry. His quest for data took him to the archives of seven dioceses in the United States, to libraries of universities, religious orders, and organizations, and to similar depositories in Germany and Italy. It was painstaking and fatiguing work, but it was highly rewarding in the results. One marvels how the author found his way through the thicket of exaggerations, misrepresentations, inaccurate quotations, slanted newspaper reports, rash interviews. But with the sure foot of a northern woodsman, guided by experienced historians whose advice Father Barry sought at every turn, he cleared for himself paths to reach his goal of nothing but well-grounded facts.

Unpalatable events are not side-stepped. They are brought to book with unvarnished frankness. True to the canons of historical criticism, formulated in the well known words of Lord Action, that it is the duty of "the historian to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong," the author presents with judicious appraisal of the facts the main issues of the controversy. The non-essential and insignificant receive their just deserts, but no more. Neither does he paint annoying shades of reservation that would dim the light of truth in the picture. Precisely on this account the period under discussion is brought back to life; one feels the heat of the controversy and breathes the heavy air it engendered. But one catches, too, many bright glimpses of high-spirited and fiery, yet chivalrous and noble-minded antagonists in the thick of the fight.

A number of conclusive facts emerge from the study. The person and work of Peter Paul Cahensly, the Limburg merchant who spent himself and much of his private fortune that adequate material, moral, and religious care be given the oversea emigrants, are completely vindicated. Cahenslyism is definitely dead, crushed by the heavy weight of documentary evidence.

Throughout the controversy there never was any threat of a schism. The contending parties fought a hard fight to uphold their respective convictions, but basically they were in accord on the all-essential fundamental: love of Church and of country. Viewpoints were different, and hence also the arguments used in supporting them. The one party sought to raise the prestige of the Church in the eyes of native non-Catholics who were suspicious of her aims and of the Catholic foreign element that had come to American shores from all lands of Europe. It was the era of the A. P. A. The other party, fearful of a hurried Americanization, was concerned primarily about the religious well being of the new immigrants. In the interest of preserving their faith, it emphasized the need of retaining the language, customs, and traditions of the new arrivals until they had become acclimated to their adopted homeland and had adjusted themselves to American ways and institutions; in short, to the American way of life. In the advocacy of their respective causes, events ultimately proved both of the contending parties to have been right. This is singular, but not strange in view of the different objectives for the attainment of which both strove. Both could honestly say: "We are true, loyal American citizens, filled with the same love for the Church, its teachings, and its practices." In the final chapter, "A House United," the author, a keen-eyed observer of the events set up by the materials he unearthed and a calm reporter of what he saw and quickly appraised with a sense of just proportion, wields a master's pen in describing how gradually the development of things led to concord and peace.

All honor to Father Barry for the detached impartiality and sure-handed mastery which he displays in treating a subject bristling with difficulties, and to the Bruce Publishing Company congratulations for having given the American reading public another outstanding publication on the history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

✠ Aloisius J. Muench
Archbishop-Bishop of Fargo
Apostolic Nuncio to Germany

The Life of Archbishop John Ireland. By James H. Moynihan. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1953. Pp. xii, 441. $5.00.)

The time was ripe for a biography of John Ireland. This year marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of his death; and, although practically every one of the many studies on the history of the Catholic Church in the United States published in recent years has had to mention him prominently, the vignettes thus drawn could never supply for a full-length portrait of the man. During the more than forty years that he was bishop there was never a problem confronting the Church at home or abroad, nor an event of importance in the life of the nation, in which Ireland did not have some part or on which he failed to express very definite views. Hence students of American history were dismayed when the rumor spread that the Ireland Papers had been lost. The publication of the present work, therefore, is an event of importance in that it not only goes far toward supplying the biography so badly needed, but also gives assurance that the archbishop's papers are intact.

It was no easy task to write the biography of a man whose interests and activities extended over such wide and varied fields. Monsignor Moynihan has highlighted Ireland's career as a figure of national and international importance and as the storm center of a number of controversies which convulsed the Church in the United States. But the work is not a "definitive" biography as the jacket calls it. It is expected and pardonable that a biographer who has known and admired the subject of the biography will not be entirely unbiased in his views. But there is a limit to enthusiasm and eulogy beyond which a biographer may not go without depriving his readers, who have no access to the sources, of the opportunity of seeing the subject in true historical perspective.

However, the main defect of the work lies not in what it contains. It presents most interesting facts of Archbishop Ireland's life with very able analysis and it helps admirably toward a better understanding of many complicated questions which arose in both Church and State during Ireland's lifetime. No future study of the man, of the problems with which he grappled, nor of his friends or foes can afford to ignore this work. But its main defect lies in what it omits, as the author himself points out. "The desire to contain the life within the scope of one volume has necessitated the omission of some details . . ." (p. xii); and again, "It is unfortunate that the limits of this book forbid the reproduction of more of the correspondence . . ." (p. 209). Such limitation prevents the work from being a "definitive" biography, and forces the author to admit that more could be said if the conservation of space were not the main consideration. In the case of a character such as John Ireland the mere hint that all has not been told becomes tantalizing.

The sixteen chapters into which the work is divided treat the more important public phases of Ireland's career. However, the reader misses an intimate glimpse of the man as administrator of the Archdiocese of St. Paul. It is true that a few articles in periodical literature and the recent popular work of Monsignor James M. Reardon, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of St. Paul* (St. Paul, 1952), have devoted some attention to administration. But such matters as the Ruthenian schism of 1891 and similar incidents that called for decision and action on the part of the responsible head of the archdiocese still await serious study. Except for the chapter "An Honor Unachieved," one misses, too, a portrayal of the more specifically human traits without which the diplomat, the intellectual giant, or even the churchman becomes a cold and rigid, albeit magnificent statue.

The plan of burying the references in the back of the book will not meet the approval of those accustomed to checking the sources while reading. The casual reader is the only one who might object to footnotes or interpret them as a vain display of scholarship. But the ease with which he may disregard them is all the more reason why they should be placed where the student may consult them without inconvenience. Had the author placed his notes at the bottom of the pages he would probably have been more generous with explanatory material not easily included in the text, yet pertinent to a fuller understanding of it. The style is not always clear due to the frequent use of lengthy and involved sentences. This is true particularly in places where correspondence or other source material has been paraphrased (e.g., p. 280 *et passim*). The direct quote would probably have taken more space, but would have made easier reading and added considerably to the reference value of the work.

The printed volume is a splendid example of typographical accuracy. "Ulrich" instead of "Uriah" as the given name of Stephens, the organizer of the Knights of Labor (p. 211) is evidently a *lapsus calami*. A satisfactory bibliography and a good index complete the work.

VICTOR E. MILLS

Holy Name College
Washington, D. C.

The American Apostolate: American Catholics in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Leo R. Ward, C.S.C. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1952. Pp. vi, 298. $4.25.)

"The problems of labor, land and school" in the words of the editor, form the core around which this symposium of essays describes "some of the chief constructive developments in American Catholic life in the twentieth century." A fine introductory essay, "Preparing for Social Action: 1880-1920" by Aaron I. Abell sets the scene for the budding and, in some cases, flowering growths of the past three decades. The emphasis is definitely on such forms of social action as the Young Christian Workers, the Catholic Youth Organization, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the Catholic Worker and Houses of Hospitality, the Back-of-the-Yards program, the work of the Catholic Committee of the South, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, rural and family life, and others. Some attention is given to strictly religious developments, as in liturgy through a splendid article entitled "The Primary Apostolate" by Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., and a summary by Miriam Marks of the work of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. One noticeable omission in the field of religion is that nothing appears on the missionary contribution of such societies as the Maryknollers, Josephites, Divine Word Fathers, Paulists, Medical Missionary Sisters, etc.

There is no systematic coverage of the contribution of national and regional societies. In the opening chapter the editor refers to the many academic associations "the most effective of which is the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs—whose counterpart is now set up much on the American model, in many European countries." But that is the last mention of the CCICA whose program deserves a much more detailed account. The Catholic Library Association should have been cited for its promotion, at heroic financial expense, of the *Catholic Periodical Index,* and for its support of the annual *Catholic Booklist.* The work of Jeannette Lynn in preparing an *Alternative Classification for Catholic Books* and that of Oliver Kapsner, O.S.B., in the codification of *Catholic Subject Headings* could have been included, perhaps in the chapter on "The Press and Communications." The latter is written exclusively from the newspaper-periodical viewpoint and fails to mention the striking contribution in the book and pamphlet field of such firms as the Paulist Press, Bruce, Newman, Sheed and Ward, The Grail, Catechetical Guild and others (such as St. Anthony Guild Press whose *National Catholic Almanac* was probably one of the editor's main reference tools). Consultation in that same book of the list of Catholic societies in the United States (pp. 455-469) would show at least a dozen or more societies whose work merited inclusion such as the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, the Newman Club Federation, the National Federation of Catholic College Students, the Xavier Society for the Blind, and others.

The symposium is always informative, although the articles are quite uneven in style and content, some being frank, candid, and able evaluations while others, such as the chapter on education and the N.C.W.C., rather dryly factual and uncritical. Emphasis is definitely on the youth and lay movements, although occasionally a person such as Saul Alinsky pays particular tribute to the clergy in their connection with social action movements in Chicago. A key note is that of individual personal and social responsibility; here, however, it is questionable whether the term "personal responsibility" as used by Julian Pleasants in the article on the Catholic Worker is properly used since it seems to imply that only this movement is interested in and motivated by that personal approach. An additional year spent on editorial work and consultation with authorities in non-social action fields would have resulted in better balance. In general, though, the articles are interesting, worthwhile, and factually correct. The book should find a ready popular market.

EUGENE P. WILLGING

The Catholic University of America

Father Tompkins of Nova Scotia. By George Boyle.. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1953. Pp. xi, 234. $3.00.)

Through the quiet farms and fields of Nova Scotia's Cape Breton Island, the river Margaree saunters to the sea. Up and down the valley small towns have taken their names from the river: Margaree, Margaree Harbour, Margaree Forks. To these towns and to this valley in the nineteenth century came a doughty breed of Irish exiles, fleeing the hopeless poverty and despair of their homeland. From this stock came two men whose mission in life was to prove that poverty was not hopeless and that despair was never warranted. The men were Moses Michael Coady and James Tompkins who became world famous as priests of the Diocese of Antigonish.

This book is the story of the elder of the two. It appeared within days of his death, but it was written after hardening of the arteries had forced him into retirement and mental darkness. This is the story of a man of vast activity and of vision. He began as a country school teacher, earned his way through college, and after the seminary and ordination he was assigned to the faculty of small St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish. Father Tompkins was not one to be satisfied with a hidebound approach to education. "This education [he wrote] emphasized by many of our colleges would be as appropriate in Timbuctu as in Canada." He set out to bring education to the people through the adult education program. Little Father Jimmy Tompkins became a renowned money-raiser; he got grant after grant from the Carnegie Corporation, he had wealthy patrons competing with one another to help St. F. X.

Then, after twenty years, he took the losing side in a dispute over educational reorganization in the Maritimes and he was "exiled" to the dreary, depressed, fog-shrouded fishing village of Canso. There he sparked a movement of co-operation which made him famous. He spent his last pastorate doing the same thing for the poverty-ridden miners of Reserve Mines.

Based on letters, interviews, and newspaper files, Canadian newspaper man George Boyle's brightly written book succeeds in conveying the brave and vital spirit of the man it calls "the elder statesman of a program for the people."

Franklin E. Fitzpatrick

Cathedral College
Brooklyn

GENERAL HISTORY

Acton's Political Philosophy. An Analysis. By G. E. Fasnacht. (London: Hollis and Carter. 1952. Pp. xiv, 265. 21s.)

Essays on Church and State by Lord Acton. Edited by Douglas Woodruff. (London: Hollis and Carter. 1952. Pp. vi, 518. 30s.)

Lord Acton. A Study in Conscience and Politics. By Gertrude Himmelfarb. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1952. Pp. x, 260. $3.75.)

One of the most revealing characteristics of the mid-twentieth century is the compulsion with which it turns back to its intellectual great-grandparents asking guidance through the troubles of our time. In keeping with this trend it is not surprising that the three volumes under review agree upon the contemporaneous value of a return to Lord Acton as a prophet and physician for our age.

Mr. Fasnacht has attempted the most difficult and trying problem which confronts the student of Acton. He has sought to put together a logical and comprehensive exposition of Acton's political thought: the task which Acton could not manage. In preparation he has not only carefully read Acton's published writings but has made intensive use of the Acton Papers in the University of Cambridge Library. He approaches Acton through the manifold evidence of his spiritual position as a Christian, a liberal, and an historian who was learned, sincere, and developing (p. 228). His analysis moves from the pivot of Acton's thought in his deep ethical consciousness to the specific political questions which were the object of this probing conscience. It concludes with a restatement and re-evaluation of the final goal of Acton's composite thought as historian and political philosopher, his projected history of freedom. Eleven appendices, drawing heavily on the manuscripts, briefly present Acton's views on the odds and ends of his thesaurus-like intellectual legacy.

Fasnacht is most interesting when he is dealing with the tangents of Acton's thought and least interesting when he is examining the heart of the matter. Thus, a chapter sketching Acton's awareness of the growth of socialist doctrines skillfully employs the unpublished manuscripts to exhibit Acton's intuition that socialism was inherently totalitarian. On the other hand, a chapter which should express the central contribution of Acton, that entitled "The State, Government, and Democracy," is not only prosaic but just escapes being boring. It is significant that in this chapter Fasnacht makes relatively little use of the manuscripts, depending largely upon the published sources. Are we to conclude that there are no hidden wellsprings available to add new vitality to Acton's known political thought?

Despite the limitations of this book, future scholarship on Acton will be obliged to assess the accuracy of the Fasnacht schema. Yet, except in a few instances, Acton's reputation is not greatly enhanced by the present treatment. The phrases and fragments which have long served as clues to Acton's brilliance and depth have here been hammered thin, and the resulting vessel is less splendid than the unfinished parts from the scholar's workbench.

In his anthology, *Essays on Church and State by Lord Acton,* Douglas Woodruff has reprinted, with an intelligent introduction, some of the hitherto neglected but important essays and reviews from Acton's sustaining contributions in the 1860's and 1870's to the short-lived English Catholic periodicals of those decades, the *Rambler,* the *Home and Foreign Review,* the *Chronicle,* and the *North British Review.* As the successful editor of the *Tablet* of London, which bears as its guide the motto *Pro Ecclesia Dei, Pro Regina et Patria,* Woodruff is especially fitted to appreciate Acton's struggles to give the English Catholics of his time inspiring and significant journals. As a colleague, Woodruff admires the courage with which Acton took up his task in a world where, ill at ease and lacking experience, the old Catholic families, the new converts, and the newly restored hierarchy were beginning a new era for the Church in England. The various difficulties which the very young and often very naïve scholar faced, as his endeavors met hierarchical censure, and as he gradually lost the support of men like Newman, are compassionately examined. Woodruff's gentle portrait is challenged, however, by the direct evidence of Acton's short temper and his unmitigated claim to intellectual superiority over his contemporaries. In 1860 Acton described his position to Newman as that of one "in the midst of a hostile and illiterate episcopate, an ignorant clergy, a prejudiced and divided laity . . ." (p. 23). This sweeping condemnation from a young man of twenty-six goes far to explain his subsequent tribulations.

The value of Woodruff's introduction is his emphasis that Acton must be seen as an early representative of the modern layman who desires to participate in the work of the apostolate. For the future historian of the Church since the French Revolution this aspect of Acton's life may, indeed, become the essence of his historical significance.

Woodruff's anthology has recently been severely criticized by Maurice Cowling. [Maurice Cowling, "Mr. Woodruff's Acton," *Cambridge Journal,* VI (1952), 181-190.] Cowling charges that Woodruff reprinted Acton's essays very inaccurately and that in cutting the text he neglected both proper mechanical notice and an appropriate warning that such cutting might alter Acton's original statement. In a highly indignant reply in a subsequent issue of the *Journal* (*ibid.,* pp. 436-439) Woodruff admits the textual errors in his edition, but denies that his omissions were designed to misrepresent Acton.

Gertrude Himmelfarb's compact intellectual biography of Lord Acton will undoubtedly be the most frequently consulted of these three volumes. In a well constructed narrative she has adroitly followed Acton through the major phases of his literary, public, and academic careers. She has, however, completely succumbed to Acton's personality and temperament; his enemies become her enemies, the ideas which he could not appreciate are alike alien to her. This partisanship mars the quality of her book and seriously exposes the weaknesses in her scholarship, the saddest example of which may be found in her treatment of the Vatican Council. Acton's role as a critic of the council's proceedings and conclusions is now an inextricable part of its history. The biographer of Acton must, therefore, treat of this council with special historical diligence. Miss Himmelfarb has singularly failed to do this. For her, there is only one true story of the council, that told by Acton in the famous Quirinus letters. Dom Cuthbert Butler's *The Vatican Council* is dismissed as the work of an apologist for infallibility (p. 100), while G. G. Coulton's *Papal Infallibility* is used without qualification. When it is recalled that the *Living Church* described Coulton's fears as being closely related to "K.K.K. bugaboos" and that the London *Times Literary Supplement,* deploring the recriminatory character of the book, classified it as a companion piece to his *Romanism and Truth,* one wonders how Miss Himmelfarb's scholarly mentors at the University of Chicago could have permitted her to draw so uncritically on the work. The consequence of this bias is most gravely exhibited in her inaccurate interpretation of the decision of the council about the primacy of the pope (pp. 106-107). Her extreme summary is neither supported by the debates in the council nor by the final definition in *Pastor Aeternus.* [See Cuthbert Butler, *The Vatican Council* (London, 1930), II, 285-289, 71-89.]

Despite Miss Himmelfarb's defensive account of Acton's achievement, there is one aspect to which she does not do justice. She is content to review his various unfinished historical projects and to assign them a grade of brilliant but incomplete. In consequence, the historical tradition in which Acton worked, that of the Enlightenment, has not been properly appreciated, and hence his own accomplishment is inadequately evaluated.

It must be stated finally that, instead of consulting these studies of Acton, the historian who would understand the special problems facing the democracies of the twentieth century might more profitably read John U. Nef's *War and Human Progress,* Eric Voegelin's *The New Science of Politics,* or Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Modern Totalitarianism.* For Lord Acton is best approached as one immersed in his own time, as one who prided himself on his ability to confront its unique past and present, and as one who did not aspire to the vocation of prophet, which he would have considered as of dubious scientific distinction.

Edward Gargan

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The Future of the West. By J. G. de Beus. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1953. Pp. vii, 178. $2.75.)

Since late in 1918 when Spengler's *Decline of the West* began to achieve its remarkable popularity to the sober satisfaction of the disillusioned and the distress of the more conservative historian, until the present day when Ortega y Gasset and Toynbee are read by the masses, the study of our western way of life has received unprecedented popular attention. Both ideology and technology seem to have more immediate relevance to contemporary man, who has witnessed the birth of forces that can destroy at least the accoutrements of his civilization, and it is quite understandable that he should wonder if his way of life will survive.

Mr. de Beus (at present Minister of the Netherlands Embassy in Washington), from a varied background in international diplomacy, has attempted to paint a hopeful picture of the future of the West in this book which can be considered at best a *succès d'estime.* The first part of the volume is a summary of the thought of the much-neglected Nikolai Danilevsky, Oswald Spengler, and Arnold Toynbee. The second part is an analysis of the present era in which the author sees three main challenges to the free world: communism, anti-western nationalism, and European disunity. Finally, de Beus attempts to evaluate the future in terms of peace or violence, with particular reference to the creative possibilities of Europe and America.

Even by standards of popular writing, this book must be regarded as a rather infelicitous venture. It has too much to say that should be said more accurately, and too much to say that has already been said more skillfully. A better popular evaluation of Spengler is to be found in H. Stuart Hughes' critical estimate, or even in the Dankin condensation of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes.* The Hughes volume also has more to say about Danilevsky. And the Somervell abridgement, which Toynbee himself considers an accurate presentation of his thought, contains an outline summary that should satisfy the most casual investigator. One might find more specific criticism of Toynbee's positions in the Geyl-Sorokin-Toynbee symposium, published under the title, *The Pattern of the Past.*

Mr. de Beus' claim that Spengler and Toynbee paid no attention to Danilevsky because of the absence of a translation in the language of either at the time of writing is questionable. Spengler actually knew some Russian, and Sorokin claims that a copy of Danilevsky's work was seen in Spengler's library by a Russian professor named Spet who visited the latter in 1921. Toynbee, who knows at least five languages, would hardly find the 1920 German translation of Danilevsky an insurmountable obstacle. But it is, indeed, possible, that despite a startling similarity of expression, he simply had never run across the Russian.

The book is attractively bound and priced, and the author has a rather pleasant style.

ROBERT PAUL MOHAN

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453. By A. A. Vasiliev. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1952. 2nd English ed. rev. Pp. xii, 846. $10.00.)

Vasiliev's survey of Byzantine history is unique in the field. It is complete, including a sketch of literature and art for each period, while all other works of the kind, even the most recent, either are restricted to a shorter time, or neglect some side of eastern civilization.

The "second English edition revised" represents substantially a translation of the French of 1932, but adds a long section on "Byzantine Feudalism" (pp. 563-579) and makes various other changes. As a fair sample of these, we may list the alterations in Chapter III: "Justinian the Great and His Immediate Successors" (pp. 129-192). The brief paragraph of the French edition (p. 171) on Justin I has been expanded by some remarks on his religious policy, which is illustrated by Justinian's early inclination toward mildness and also by the aid given to the Abyssinians despite their monophysitism (pp. 130 f.). The account of the war against Yemen, formerly put under Justinian (French ed., p. 183), has been transferred here, presumably for chronology's sake. Moreover, the remarks on the earlier history of Yemen have been left out and something more immediately pertinent to Byzantine history substituted, the role of Justin I in the legends of Ethiopia. We also find new information on a seventeenth-century Russian project to translate Justinian's code (p. 147), the results of latest research into the demes (pp. 155 f.), a description of the plague of 542 (p. 162), contemporary interest in the primitive history of the Slavs in the Balkans (p. 179) and Whittemore's work on Hagia Sophia (p. 190). Corrections are made in Justinian's final doctrinal views (pp. 153 f.; French ed., p. 203), conditions after Justinian's death (p. 169; French ed., p. 221), the authorship of the acts of Demetrius (p. 172; French ed., p. 224) and details of Maurice's dealings with Childebert II

(p. 173; French ed., p. 226). The only omission is the text of Justin's speech (p. 130). The principal emphasis of the revision is placed on a bibliography brought up to date and adapted to the English reader. Thus, to take Chapter III again as typical, nn. 41, 43, 46-48, 52 f., 99 f., 102, 114, 125 f. and 147 cite English translations not mentioned in the French edition while nn. 10 f., 26, 45, 57 f., 68, 78-80, 83, 97, 99, 106 f., 115 f., 120, 123, 136, 147, 154, 160, 162 and 164 give references to studies published since 1932. Furthermore, a good many names have been added to the introductory historical sketch of scholarship and the "Bibliography" at the end runs to sixty-four pages (735-799) and contains over 1,600 titles.

The book has been much improved in format, though we miss the plates. The paragraphing has been revised and rendered logical, and sub-headings added—both great aids to the novice in so complicated and unfamiliar a subject. Furthermore, we have now a single fine volume instead of two, in large, easily readable type, on excellent paper; the maps are clearer; an extensive index has been compiled—and all this with virtually no curtailment of the French text. (By the way, the printer has lost a line on p. 664.) The translation is very good.

This widely known and highly prized *History of the Byzantine Empire* needs not the commendation of any reviewer. Written originally in Russian, it has been turned into English, French, Spanish, and Turkish. It has always been a favorite with students, both my own and others to whom I have spoken. Their only complaint about it ever has been the difficulty of obtaining it, and, happily, this is now ended. If a library could afford only one book on Byzantine history, this should undoubtedly be it. The University of Wisconsin Press deserves the warmest thanks and congratulations of every Byzantinist.

All of the author's friends—and they are legion—will be glad that before his death he had the gratification of seeing this handsome re-edition of a work of which he was so justly proud. *In pace requiescat.*

MARTIN J. HIGGINS

The Catholic University of America

English Historical Documents. Volume II, *1042-1189.* Edited by David C. Douglas and George Greenaway. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xxiv, 1014. $17.50.)

When Stubbs published his *Select Charters* he could assume, apparently, that no one interested in the details of English mediaeval history would be incapable of reading Latin and Norman French. Times change, and a few years ago, in his inaugural lecture as professor of mediaeval history in the University of Cambridge, Dom David Knowles observed that a major disability of the average modern undergraduate embarking on a course of mediaeval history was a "lack of any adequate knowledge of the Latin language." Professor Douglas, in the general preface to *English Historical Documents,* discusses the same problem and maintains that "there seems no adequate reason why the majority of those interested in English history should be arbitrarily deprived of the opportunity to consult the basic sources of their study." In the present volume, therefore, all the documents are presented in translation and not in the original languages.

The mediaevalist may view the result with somewhat mixed feelings. He will deplore the circumstances which make such a work necessary; he can have nothing but admiration for the skill and diligence with which the editors have carried out their task. The book is conceived on a much more massive scale than the usual source book of "selected extracts." It contains, e.g., a complete translation of the Dialogue of the Exchequer, the Bayeux Tapestry reproduced in seventy-nine plates, and the whole Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 1042 to 1154 with the three main versions printed in parallel columns. The documents are grouped in four main sections which are further subdivided according to chronology or subject matter. The first one presents selections from the rich narrative sources of the period. The second section, a particularly successful one, deals with the documents of central and local administration. After the principal legislative enactments of Henry II we are given the *Constitutio domus regis,* then a selection of writs illustrating the work of the sheriffs, extracts from legal treatises and reports of trials, and finally documents relating to the royal financial administration. The third section deals with ecclesiastical affairs, and it is principally concerned with the problems of Church and State in the days of Lanfranc, Anselm, and, above all, of Thomas Becket. But a selection of episcopal charters serves to remind us of the routine work of diocesan administration, unobtrusively carried on through all the stormy years of political controversy. The ideals of the Cistercians are presented in the *Carta caritatis* but the internal life of the great Benedictine abbeys seems rather neglected. Perhaps Jocelin of Brakelond is being saved for the next volume. In the final section on "Land and People" the central position is naturally occupied by Domesday Book and related sources, but there is also a particularly useful selection of charters illustrating Anglo-Norman feudalism, and a collection of documents relating to the towns.

The assembling of such a wide selection of sources in one volume has an obvious value in itself. Still more valuable, however, is the mass of critical material in which the sources are embedded. There is to begin with a brilliant introduction by Professor Douglas. In taking 1042 rather than the conventional 1066 as his starting point he has set himself the task of describing not merely Norman England, but the Normanization of England, the impact of the Normans on the existing Anglo-Saxon society. The task is most judiciously accomplished, and Professor Douglas' own special interest in the early history of Normandy has not prevented him from doing full justice to the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon state. After the introduction there is a general bibliography for the whole period, whilst more specialized bibliographies introduce each major section of the work, and each individual item has an introductory note which may be only a few lines long or may run to several pages. The critical bibliographies introduce the reader to the historical controversies arising out of the sources presented for his study in a far more realistic fashion than do those volumes of contrived "historical problems," and they contain material that will be of value, not only to serious graduate students, but to their teachers as well. Indeed, this book, intended for the general reading public with an interest in history, is likely to be most warmly welcomed by specialist scholars in the history of the period it covers.

The present volume is the first to be published in a projected series of thirteen which will present documents of English history from 500 A.D. down to 1914. Students of English history will look forward with eager interest to the appearance of the subsequent volumes.

BRIAN TIERNEY

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Clarendon: Politics, History and Religion, 1640-1660. By B. H. G. Wormald. (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 331. $5.00.)

Lord Clarendon, Charles II's chancellor, ended his life in exile from the monarchy which he helped to restore and for which he had suffered an earlier exile. Failure trailed his counsels, not as the vapid end of high-flying impracticality, but as the tragic ineffectiveness of reasonable moderation. Twice, in defeat, he turned to writing history; the first time to proffer lessons to royalty; the second time, with age searing hope and the promptings of self-justification irrepressible, to write his life. In the end he put the two works together, thereby making a stately history composed from two different perspectives of time. The *History* and Clarendon himself, however, although possessing all the charm and intellectual substance and complexity, which have drawn so many to the study of seventeenth-century England, have not received adequate attention.

Brian Wormald has attempted to make good this deficiency. He believes that Clarendon has been too readily taken in terms of his own easily misunderstood *History*. Edward Hyde, the future Clarendon, has been accepted as a constitutional royalist, a supporter of the early reforms of the Long Parliament, with which he broke when the Church was attacked. Thereafter he joined the king's supporters and formidably served the royalist cause. The author, however, suggests that the Church question was not decisive and that Hyde's royalism is wrongly dated and interpreted. Hyde worked for a reconciliation of king and parliament, for to a constitutionalist the two should not be separated. Even in supporting the king's side in the Civil War, he maintained the same constitutional hope and end.

With understandable but real exaggeration the author implies that the results of his inquiry will require an entire retelling of the story of the English Revolution. Actually, his learned and penetrating study has not achieved that much. Seventeenth-century religion and politics are not easily disentangled, and Wormald's attack on the conventional picture gets lost in over-subtlety and his own concessions. But with disciplined imagination and sympathetic mastery of Clarendon's writings he has described the mind of his subject, "the ideas of Hyde as they unfolded in relation to events."

The book's latter half, dealing with Hyde's thoughts on the victorious parliament, Cromwell, and religion is more readable and full of fascinating material. Hyde looked to a royal restoration, not through foreign or domestic armed might, but by the English themselves, returning to the security of the constitution after the violence and disintegration of the revolution had run their inevitable course. Constitutionalism and belief in Providence went hand in hand: "If God would suffer a lasting union in any notorious wickedness, which He never doth, the world itself would be shaken, and upon the matter overthrown."

Wormald's work marks the appearance of an original and attractive talent.

M. A. Fitzsimons

University of Notre Dame

Irish Nationalism and British Democracy. By Eric Strauss. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 307. $4.25.)

In this lively and stimulating book Mr. Strauss has attempted a new interpretation of modern Irish history. His interest in Ireland was aroused by a study of party politics in the United States and in Great Britain, and he is chiefly concerned with the effect of the Irish question upon the evolution of British democracy. While he insists rightly that the economic interpretation of Irish history has been generally neglected, he admits that his own, largely Marxist, interpretation of the story is "inevitably one-sided." He fortified himself especially with two quotations. One is from Thomas Francis Meagher, as a very young leader in the Young Ireland Party, who wrote that "from the divisions of Irish society the chief obstacles to Irish freedom arise." The other is from the English Tory journalist, Ian Colvin, who stated in his biography of Sir Edward Carson that "Irish nationalism was in reality a class war directed by the lower against the upper elements of society."

In accepting that preposterous statement, Mr. Strauss starts with a misconception which leads him into many misinterpretations. But his approach to Irish history from a new angle is at least refreshing, and he has studied the whole story from 1800 onwards with industry and shrewd intelligence. His main failure is his inability to appreciate the strength and vitality of national sentiment, which has constantly transcended social interests. Again and again Irish nationalist politicians have adopted policies that were against the interests of their own class. Also Mr. Strauss makes wide generalizations about social classes, which are far from representing the true conditions. He talks repeatedly of the "masses" and the "peasantry" and the urban workers as though they were distinct classes, whereas they are inseparably intermixed. While he attributes immense political influence to the Catholic Church, he identifies this also with the "middle class." But many of the most influential Irish bishops have come from the poorest classes, though they have frequently been members of ancient families with a proud aristocratic tradition, which survived the confiscation of their estates and the social degradation imposed by the penal laws.

Strauss is on more solid ground in his earlier chapters, because the British occupation of Ireland did in fact produce, and maintain for centuries, conditions of exploitation and class government such as Karl Marx attributed to modern capitalist society. Ireland was, in fact, governed by a small dominant minority, who openly described themselves as the Protestant Ascendancy. That ruling class, though they acquired Irish characteristics and came into conflict at times with their English masters, were indisputably an alien government. They kept the mass of the people in subjection, deprived them of their political rights, and did their utmost to extinguish the Catholic religion.

But most of Mr. Strauss' book is concerned with the period after the mid-eighteenth century, when the anti-Catholic laws were gradually relaxed, under pressure of various events and upheavals. He traces the evolution of an Irish middle class, and shows how English politicians skillfully exploited the aspirations of that growing middle class as a means of checking popular revolt. But he goes far astray in contending that Irish political leaders were always striving to defend and strengthen the middle class. He treats Daniel O'Connell as a supreme type of the middle class politician, and fails to understand either his deep loyalties to the Catholic faith, or his passionate devotion to the conception of Ireland's nationhood. O'Connell refused repeated offers of high legal or judicial office, although he told his intimates at the time how much he dreaded the prospect of being obliged to continue his precarious life as a political agitator. And in his earlier campaign for Catholic rights in 1815, O'Connell refused to accept any measure for the admission of Catholics to Parliament if it were to involve a British veto on the appointment of Irish bishops. Even the Holy See, and many of the Irish bishops, were willing to accept that demand, but O'Connell preferred to see his own agitation collapse in failure, rather than permit any government interference in religious affairs. Similarly he insisted often, and with all sincerity, that he would rather postpone the concession of Catholic rights if repeal of the Union could be won that way.

It is still less convincing to present Parnell as the champion of the Irish middle class. Parnell was essentially an adventurer and an autocrat in politics, inspired partly by the dislike of England which he learned from his American mother, and partly by the discovery of his own genius for political strategy. Mr. Strauss shows much insight in his account of Parnell's dealings with Gladstone and other English politicians; and he claims with truth that Parnell was quite willing to allow Gladstone to rid him of his embarrassments from the revolutionary left wing. But that was because he resented any challenge to his personal leadership, and not from any bourgeois distaste for Fenian allies. In the last phase when he was fighting to retain the leadership after the split, Parnell tried hard to resume contact with the Fenian elements.

To some extent it is obviously true that both O'Connell and Parnell did exercise a moderating influence when they had themselves aroused Ireland into a state of revolutionary excitement. Mr. Strauss remarks shrewdly that "the time honoured English policy of disciplining the Irish people by detaching the middle class from the masses was not completely abandoned, but considerably modified, by Gladstone." But he assumes always that there was a fundamental difference between the "middle class" and the "unprivileged masses." The immediate result of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was to admit only a small number of privileged Catholics to Parliament, and some others to higher status in the law. But its results were much more far-reaching, because it opened a new era in which Catholics began to take part freely in public life. The building of large Catholic churches began then for the first time, whereas they had been confined to chapels in obscure back streets until after 1829. Catholic newspapers were soon founded, which provided full reports of matters which had formerly been excluded from the newspapers that the Protestant Ascendancy controlled. O'Connell was even more distressed in 1829 than Mr. Strauss is now, by the disfranchisement of the small tenant farmers, whose defiance of their landlords had compelled Wellington to concede emancipation. But their political influence, while they remained

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dependent on their landlords, was at best very precarious. Moreover, they were only one section of the poorer classes, and they certainly could not be described as constituting the general "masses" in the sense which Mr. Strauss implies.

In his later chapter these false assumptions distort his perspective more seriously. He refers, e.g., to Archbishop Thomas W. Croke of Cashel as a "middle class Radical," though he was one of the chief upholders of the Land League, and a most typical representative of the small tenant farmers. Rural and urban workers alike came largely from the same stock; and even today the more recent immigration into Dublin and Belfast has been largely derived from the children of small farmers and of laborers. Mr. Strauss also exaggerates the contrast between the industrial northeast and the rest of Ireland. Modern Dublin is scarcely less an industrial city than is modern Belfast. He insists rightly that Belfast shipyards and linen mills are "integral parts of the British industrial system," whereas the more recent Irish industries have been created largely to supply the Irish market, with the help of protective tariffs. But that phase was inevitable; and today the Irish Republic is, almost as deeply as Belfast, concerned to establish a growing export trade.

His account of the labor movement, in Dublin especially under Larkin and Connolly, is written with sympathy and insight. But his labor sympathies make him exaggerate the importance of other movements which gave some support to labor. He attributes wide influence to the short-lived All for Ireland League, which was little more than William O'Brien's personal following in County Cork during the years before 1914. On the other hand, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, led by Devlin, extended very widely all over Ireland, and it cannot be reasonably described as a "secret society run on strictly Roman Catholic lines." It reflected the desire of the poorer Catholics to have a due share in well paid offices and employment. Although Devlin's methods were often high-handed and even unscrupulous, the A.O.H. itself was largely a resumption of O'Connell's earlier efforts to organize the depressed Catholics in face of the all-powerful Protestant Ascendancy. Mr. Strauss comes near to equating the A.O.H. with the Irish Republican Brotherhood, although the I.R.B. was almost extinct until a few years before 1914, and even in 1916 had scarcely a thousand members.

But these faults in perspective are only partial failures of comprehension in this extremely able and provocative book. Mr. Strauss has performed a real service to all students of modern Irish history by providing a corrective to complacent views, and by his many gleams of real insight.

DENIS GWYNN

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Germany's Drive to the West. A Study of Germany's Western War Aims During the First World War. By Hans Gatzke. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1950. Pp. x, 316. $5.00.)

This review has been unavoidably delayed. By now most readers know that *Germany's Drive to the West* is a thorough scholarly analysis, both of the individuals and groups in Germany who advocated territorial gains at the expense of the western powers during World War I, and of the intimate connection between the demand for territorial expansion and the desire to maintain the existing political and social order in Germany. Dr. Gatzke demonstrates that the propaganda for conquest was carried on by a small minority. What gave these people importance, and at times decisive importance, was the conviction that the existing social and political order would continue only if Germany won tangible territorial and economic gains from the war. Conversely the only consistent foes of territorial conquests, and advocates of a peace of reconciliation, were the Social Democrats, who wished to overturn the existing social and political order.

There is much in the story of 1914-1918 we should ponder today, and it is this fact which justifies a belated review of Professor Gatzke's excellent monograph. In 1918 the Social Democrats won power when a peace of reconciliation was the best Germany could hope for; they lost power when the Allies imposed a victor's peace. Today, those who preach reconciliation with the West are again in control of West Germany. In very tangible ways, they can claim that the German people have profited from the alliance with the West. However, beyond these tangible benefits, the German people demand recognition for the claims of German nationalism. These claims are not exhausted by expressions like "defense of the West," or even by the word democracy. They include expressions like "the rightful position of Germany in Europe" and "German unity" which must be given recognition, but which could, given the opportunity, burgeon into the slogans of the annexationists of 1914-1918.

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

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The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism. Eduard Bernstein's Challenge tc Marx. By Peter Gay. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. xvii, 334. $4.50.)

For sixty years Eduard Bernstein proclaimed himself a Marxist. Dr. Gay purports to prove he renounced Marxism and championed democracy. Prerequisite is a single focus of Bernstein, the theoretician and Bernstein, the practical politician. Unfortunately, the author does not employ this methodology. The book is in detail an analysis, within the realm of socialism, of Bernstein's theory, revisionism. His political career is presented in broad outline. The paucity of material regarding Bernstein's political life raises the question as to the value of the Bernstein Archives in Amsterdam to which Dr. Gay had access.

Writing from the socialist viewpoint, the author borrows terms from democracy. Guided by personal predilection and avoiding research which would offer a comparative viewpoint, the author fails to approach historical reality. Dr. Gay predicates his thesis upon an unwarranted assumption that Marxism is thoroughly dogmatic and unrealistic. A second premise is the common misconception that Bernstein's neo-Kantinism denoted abandonment of Marxism. Yet Engels declared German socialists "proud" to descend from Kant. The author eludes the fact that ethics, while binding a community together, does not bind the community to God, nor establish the source of man's inalienable rights. Dr. Gay writes under the misconception that operative forces in Bernstein's "coercive state with power over things as well as men" are identical with operative forces in a truly democratic society. He shows no awareness that Bernstein's "coercive state" would be just as political as Marx's withering away of the state.

Fiscal policy is the first line of attack in Marxian strategy. Nevertheless, Dr. Gay fails to open up Bernstein's long career in the Reichstag where he "specialized in economic and tax questions." Bernstein, 1916-1919, stood with those Marxists from whom came the Communist Party. He represented them on the Council of Peoples Commissars. Dr. Gay submits no details relative to his leadership when they rejected democracy and demanded a soviet state by proclamation. The author reports Bernstein returning to the majority socialists "before the civil conflict was at its height." History also records his return thirty-four days after his party revolted against the provisional government, six days after the radicals lost the battle of the Berlin streets and on the day national elections signified their irreversible defeat. Dr. Gay attributes his return simply to a desire to balance the right wing. Serious research indicates Bernstein, a western Marxist, feared Russian orientation of German Marxism already accepted by more and more leftist colleagues.

Described as "a history of Revisionism" this book ignores details of the Bavarian dictatorship of Kurt Eisner, a revisionist leader and Bernstein's associate. Introduced as an "intellectual and spiritual biography," the book carries no mention of Bernstein's naturalistic atheistic concept of man. Only in a footnote is notice taken of his formal renunciation of Judaism on orders of anti-clerical party leaders. Dr. Gay uncritically interprets Bernstein's campaign to establish German responsibility for the war as a courageous fight for the truth about the peace. Featuring Bernstein's desire for peace, he fails to mention the Reichstag Peace Resolution, which Bernstein's party opposed, Benedict XV's peace offensive, or Wilson's reply. Nothing is said of Bernstein's leadership in welcoming the American note as a call to revolution and world government. Naturally the author raises no question as to the timing of Bernstein's "war guilt" campaign in relation to the peace offensives of 1917.

Dr. Gay displays strong opinions. He denounces those who question the socialist concept of freedom as "uninformed and biased." He describes Bernstein's critics as speaking "ad nauseam." For Germany's expanding economy he uses the words "a stubborn streak of prosperity." He denounces the Germans for not following Bernstein's leadership, saying "this failure offers eloquent testimony to the kind of country Germany really was." The author has nothing to say about Bernstein's injection of proportional representation into the Erfurt Programme or its introduction into German national government by the Marxists. It was this anti-democratic form of voting, and not the German nature, which hindered Marxists and all others from forming a responsible government in Germany.

Dr. Gay has produced not a history, but a brief for a man and an ideology advocating their acceptance in currently approved terms. His portrayal of Eduard Bernstein detracts from Bernstein's stature, which he merits as a western Marxist, keen and loyal, interpreting the theory as "an insight into the future."

EVELENE PETERS

College of Mount Saint Joseph
on-the-Ohio

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Irony of American History. By Reinhold Niebuhr. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1952. Pp. xi, 174. $2.50.)

This is a brilliantly written volume with a disconcerting message, with a description of the paradise of our American domestic security suspended in a hell of global insecurity. The author carefully points out the deadly parallel between the desire of American idealists and communist realists to bring the whole of human history under the control of the human will. The clarity of his picture of the rejection of an overruling Providence in history is terrifying. Most necessary is his insistence upon the inherent weaknesses in the very virtues on which American idealists have placed so much reliance. Very timely is his warning that the current conflicts in ideology cannot be resolved by a seminar on the relative merits of these various systems. Very acute is his observation that liberal culture exhibits a sentimental softness because of its unwillingness or inability to comprehend the depth of evil which can result when individuals or communities seek to play God. Carefully he emphasizes that true awareness of the current hazards of the world situation can alone bring proper planning for the present or future.

But it is extremely difficult to follow the applications of his terms, especially that of irony. The commonly accepted meanings of this word—simulation of ignorance, sort of humor, ridicule or light sarcasm—must be firmly cast aside, if we would follow clearly his development. "Irony," as used in this volume, has a grimness about it, and the overtones of mockery. The author carefully notes that his irony can follow from a hidden defect in a virtue, from over-reliance on security, from wisdom operating beyond its normal limits. Granted that the author cannot use quotes around words to indicate that they have a special meaning for him and must have such a meaning for us if we are to follow him, it still remains true that according to the dictionary and under accepted practice virtue implies excellence, security denotes absence of fear, and wisdom involves correctness of judgment. If our actual concept of virtue must include a hidden defect, if our reliance on our so-called security is brash, if our exercise of wisdom is faulty, then by very definition we do not have what we thought we had; this last is precisely what the author states is the case. Actually the book would have made much easier reading if there could have been some more accurate delineation of virtue as it actually is and of what a virtue, as we accept it, actually connotes; if the end-point where security vanished was located; if the limitation on the use of human wisdom was set forth; if innocence as the absence of all guilt was carefully differentiated from that innocence which is the absence of a certain type of guilt. Realistically the volume would have been more effective if a more positive presentation had been made of the dangers which have arisen from the setting up of a new deity in place of God, whether that creation proceeds from vicious hatred or from sheer unwillingness to serve the true God.

ARTHUR J. RILEY

Historian, Supreme Council
Knights of Columbus
New Haven

The Pursuit of Happiness. By Howard Mumford Jones. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 168. $3.50.)

This book, as its author indicates, purports to be a pragmatic inquiry into the history of the oft-quoted phrase "the pursuit of happiness" as found in the Declaration of Independence and the ideas that gave it genesis. Professor Jones has eminently succeeded in the work he set out to do. The result is a chatty, informative, and erudite book, and its author has left no stone unturned in pursuit of the origin of the phrase which is also the title of his work. The over-all result is an excellent contribution to the literature of American political ideas.

While he advances no particular thesis of his own, one may well differ with him in the apparent nod he gives in the direction of Bryce, to the effect that our founding fathers went back 2,000 years for their inspiration, and that "Modern scholarship tends to return us, as it were, to the observation of Bryce." Although the language is guarded, it appears the professor agrees, but who the modern scholars are, we are not told. Those he quotes, it would seem at least, lean rather heavily on John Locke. If this is true, then Bellarmine and Suarez, particularly the former, cannot be overlooked. For it was against Bellarmine that Filmer, the personal theologian of James I, wrote his *Patriarcha* in defense of the divine right of kings against the saint's political philosophy of popular sovereignty. Neither can Algernon Sydney, put to death in England in 1683 for his political ideas and who also wrote in refutation of Filmer, be ignored.

Jefferson, Madison, Mason, and Adams were educated men. Mr. Jones states with reference to Jefferson: "We know what was in his library, his papers have been preserved" (p. 14). It would be interesting to know whether or not it contained a copy of *Patriarcha* or of the discourses of Algernon Sydney. If but the opening pages of either of the two were read, Bellarmine would have been discovered. Madison was a graduate of Princeton and, while this reviewer does not know, he understands that in its library there were copies of the works of Bellarmine. All of which leads up to this: that St. Thomas and the schoolmen cannot be passed over cursorily in any work which purports to deal either generally or specifically with the history of popular government as we have come to know it. Nor it cannot be accepted on the mere statement of the author that "Protestant America in the Age of the Revolution was not directly affected by them" (p. 63). Mr. Jones quotes John Adams to the effect that

> . . . the happiness of society is the end of government, as all divines and moral philosophers will agree that the happiness of the individual is the end of man. From this principle it will follow, that the form of government which communicates ease, comfort, security or in one word happiness to the greatest number of persons and in the greatest degree is the best (p. 97).

To all of this Cardinal Bellarmine would have added a grand "Amen!"

Here in epitome, it would seem, is the end of the quest. And Adams has synthesized a view that certainly cannot be said to be synonymous with what the author speaks of as Protestant America in its revolutionary age. No matter what be the result, it is too bad Mr. Jones did not pursue this aspect of the matter further rather than dismissing it with such scant ado.

This is a whole lot different from inferring that Jefferson *et al* owed their inspiration to the schoolmen. But that they did not wholly dismiss them—nor, worse, were unaware of their political theory—John Adams, it would appear, is strong witness to the contrary.

Where did Adams' ideas stem from?—the answer would be interesting.

MATTHEW F. MCGUIRE

United States District Court
Washington, D. C.

Fleur de Lys and Calumet. Being the Penicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana. Translated from French manuscripts and edited by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. xxvii, 282. $4.00.)

André Penicaut, a young French ship carpenter of adventurous disposition, gifted with a talent for languages, accompanied D'Iberville in 1699 on his journey to the new world. He saw the founding of the French colony on the Gulf Coast and in the Mississippi Valley. He witnessed the birth of Biloxi, of Mobile, Natchez, and New Orleans. As ship carpenter his skill was needed on the expeditions of exploration which almost invariably followed navigation paths either along the gulf shore or on the Mississippi River or other waterways. As a linguistic adept, he soon became familiar with various Indian languages or dialects. This made him a valuable contact man for friendship and trade with the Indian tribes. These qualifications gave him opportunity during his twenty-two years in Louisiana of being part of most of the important exploration parties by the French of that time. Long periods were spent amongst the Indians who trusted and esteemed him so that he became familiar with their customs and these he describes interestingly.

The account of his adventures, which he wrote in the form of annals, were begun in Louisiana, and when in 1721 he returned to France he brought with him the unfinished manuscript and completed his writing in his native country. It is the earliest full-length account written by an eyewitness of the exploration and settlement of France's Province of Louisiana, and has proved a valuable source of information to historians. The volume, *Fleur de Lys and Calumet,* is the first full English translation of this account to be published, and its value is enhanced by the translator's scholarly introduction and the copious footnotes that shed a flood of sidelights upon the narrative.

The narrative is a most interesting one for it follows the journeys of exploration and discovery and pictures this section of the country as it was in the early 1700's as seen through the eyes of Penicaut. In it we live with him for long periods in the Indian villages; we witness with him their home life; wars; their games; their hunts.

While some of the dates as given in the narrative have been successfully challenged, it is easy to understand these inaccuracies since the writing must have been done from a vivid memory of the events long after they transpired with part of the narrative written after Penicaut's return to France. To sum up: the narrative itself by an adventurous and impressionable eyewitness gives a highly interesting account of an interesting period, and the translator-editor has presented it well to the English-speaking public.

✠ Richard O. Gerow
Bishop of Natchez

Papiers Contrecoeur et autres documents concernant le conflit Anglo-Français sur l'Ohio de 1745 à 1756. Edited by Fernand Grenier. Université Laval: Publications des Archives du Séminaire de Québec. I. (Québec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval. 1952. Pp. xxxiv, 485.)

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the English and French conflict in North America was reaching a climax. With the French scattering their forces along the navigable rivers and the English spilling over the boundaries of the mountains, it was only natural that the Ohio River Valley turned out to be the tinder box of the conflagration. It was here that Washington entangled the world in the Jumonville affair and Braddock made his memorable march to defeat. Any book of documents dealing with this strategic time and place would be considered of some importance, the more so if they were from French archives. The Contrecoeur Papers fall into this category and are, therefore, of some importance.

Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur was at one time the French commander of all the forts in the Ohio River Valley. He built Fort Duquesne, gave Jumonville his fatal instructions, and was still in charge in that July when Braddock planned his disastrous attack. His letters and papers, which form the bulk of this collection, will thus be of great interest to the American historian. Letters from Duquesne, Bigot, Varin, Marin, etc., beginning in September, 1752, and extending through August, 1755, embrace the most critical period of the Ohio River controversy and throw a great deal of light on the French position and interpretation of the conflict. There is even included another translation of Washington's journal which was captured at the surrender of Fort Necessity. This version had been sent to Contrecoeur by Duquesne in September, 1754, and is printed in parallel columns with the more familiar translation of the *Mémoire contenant le précis des faits.* There is also reprinted (it first appeared in 1906) another version of de Villiers' journal of his Fort Necessity campaign which adds somewhat to the one of the *Mémoire.*

In addition to the Contrecoeur Papers, there are letters from the Marin Papers which include information on the construction of Forts Presqu'ile and le Boeuf in 1753. There are selections from the papers of Marin's successor, Jacques le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre, who was in charge when Washington was sent by Dinwiddie to protest the presence of the French. Finally, there are included some of the papers of Daniel-Hyacinthe-Marie de Beaujeu, who lost his life leading the attack of July 9, 1755, against the English.

All of these documents are from the beautiful collections made throughout the nineteenth century by Jacques Viger and l'Abbé Hospice-Anthelme-Jean-Baptiste Verreau. They were bequeathed to the Seminary of Quebec, where they fill a hundred or so boxes and cartons and are known as the Viger-Verreau Collection. This first volume is the beginning of a series of similar publications and, if it is at all indicative of the future, scholars have every reason to be thankful.

JOSEPH R. FRESE

Fordham University

Before Lewis and Clark, Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804. Two Volumes. Edited by A. P. Nasatir. (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. 1952. Pp. xv, 375; xii, 853. $15.00.)

The editor of these two volumes of documents, Professor Nasatir of San Diego State College, has qualified for the project by more than a quarter-century of specialization in Mississippi Valley history. The collection is prefaced by his introduction of over 100 pages, and it is recommended for reading both before and after consulting the documents here printed. The papers reproduced are not intended to cover the whole period prior to the Lewis and Clark expedition. They begin with those of 1785, more than a century after Marquette and Joliet had passed the mouth of the Missouri River. The last letter quoted was written in 1806 by Pierre Chouteau to General James Wilkinson. It is an apt conclusion, for Indian trader Chouteau summarized the administration of the Spanish as he had known it during the three preceding decades.

The commencement date of the collection approximates the bestirring of the Spanish to extending their explorations and Indian trade along the upper Missouri River. This activity was externally stimulated by the economic invasion of the Spaniards' territory by British and, to a lesser extent, American traders. Many succeeding letters were concerned with ineffectual schemes for halting the incursions of the illegal but enterprising competitors from Canada or the infant United States.

The official reports sent to New Orleans frequently cast illuminating light on the Catholic Church of the frontier. Bishop John Carroll's later condemnation of Jean Antoine Le Dru as "that apostate Dominican" was portended in 1793 by Lieutenant-Governor Zenon Trudeau reporting the rising discontent of the St. Louis parishioners with this priest. In 1795 Trudeau mentioned visits to St. Louis of "M. the Abbé Flagier, priest of Vincennes Post . . . he is a perfect ecclesiastic whose acquisition would be precious for us" (I, 324). Apparently the editor did not advert to this priest having been Benedict J. Flaget, S.S., later the first Bishop of Bardstown.

Also in 1795 the arrival was reported "on the American bank" of the Mississippi of two French curés "paid by Congress to preach to the savages" (I, 328). But government pay was slow in coming and support at Kaskaskia was insufficient. Hence before the summer waned Abbé [Pierre] Janin appealed to the Spaniards for assistance. Later he crossed the river to care for the parish in St. Charles. In 1801 in this same Missouri River town a petition was signed by Prieur as parish priest (II, 645). This name had escaped that indefatigable researcher and historian of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, Father John Rothensteiner.

Seven maps, two published for the first time, illustrate the contemporary geographic knowledge of the Missouri Valley. An 1802 cartograph was surprisingly accurate. No bibliography is given in this volume, but complete references are in the comprehensive footnotes. Objection might be offered to the too persistent citation of Nasatir's own works and those of his students. The index of seventy-eight pages was compiled by Miss Ruth Fleming. While several omissions were encountered by this reviewer, this work furnishes a useful key for unlocking the treasures of this collection.

PETER J. RAHILL

Saint Louis University

On Freedom's Altar. By Hazel Catherine Wolfe. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 195. $3.75.)

To the surely by now hackneyed theory that abolitionists were, to quote Merle Curti, another Wisconsin social historian, "probably influenced not only by the Christian doctrine of human brotherhood and love but also by the traditionally Puritan and Quaker sense of community responsibility for sin," Hazel C. Wolfe has added the interesting notion that the abolitionists were all determined to be martyrs. This martyr complex had certain essential ingredients such as sudden conversion, ascetic living habits, forgiveness toward persecutors, and an intense desire to suffer persecution and death; "by the third decade of the nineteenth century the martyr concept was a reversed American tradition," the author assures us. This concept superimposed upon the evangelical-humanitarianism which swept the early nineteenth century world on both sides of the Atlantic dominated the American abolitionist.

Unfortunately, *On Freedom's Altar* fails to testify to either the limitation or the validity of the author's definition of martyrdom. Lovejoy and John Brown are the only two examples of principle-to-the-death. (This reviewer cannot accept the bald implication that Lincoln died for abolitionism.) The other "martyrs" suffered trials ranging from branding, beating, and imprisonment to "ire of neighbors," "rigors of travel," or young children crying beneath their windows. The author never makes quite clear whether she is speaking for herself or for the abolitionists when she places this various suffering on a plane with that of Christ on the Cross.

It is the old story of Lundy, Birney, Weld, Garrison, and Torrey told again, only in the case of Charles T. Torrey told more fully than before. The cursory glance cast at southern abolition does not encompass Levi Coffin, Moncure Conway, nor John Lamb who was tarred and feathered, badly burned, and whipped for subscribing to the *Liberator*. Negro abolitionists like Frederick Douglas and persuasive Sojourner Truth are completely ignored, while the ladies fare only slightly better. Aside from Prudence Crandell (whose "martyrdom" was the closing of her school) scant attention is given to the efforts of the fair sex, although the author clearly recognizes that the issue of women-in-controversy caused schism within the Garrisonian ranks. Angelina Grimké is merely the wifely collaborator of Theodore Weld; Lydia Child is mentioned only as a commentator on John Brown and because Jonathan Walker named a child for her; Lucretia Mott makes a brief appearance in Philadelphia and is seen no more. The author omits from her bibliography some essential reading on slavery and sin and apparently is unfamiliar with the old classic of Hart on *Slavery and Abolition*. What is worse, she seems not to have used all the excellent works she does cite. The reviewer is forced to conclude that a good idea for a book does not always make a good book. The scope of the idea of this particular one seems better suited to an essay, and the author appears to much better advantage on the pages of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* where her true contribution to historical fact and theory recently appeared.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

Bridgewater State Teachers College

The Course of Empire. By Bernard De Voto. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1952. Pp. xvii, 647. $6.00.)

This book, "the last of three narrative studies," is actually the first chronologically in a trilogy designed to narrate the history of the North American continent from its discovery by European adventurers to the middle of the nineteenth century. The first volume to appear—and the last in the order of events related—*The Year of Decision* (1943) which was noticed in this *Review* (XXIX [1943-1944], 261-262) and the second, *Across the Wide Missouri* (1947), covered short periods of time; while the time lapse in this volume "is two hundred and seventy-eight years"—from Cortés and Cartier to Lewis and Clark, Simon Fraser, and David Thompson. The work needed to be done and represents a new and more realistic approach to the history of this continent, emphasizing as any critical study should the opening of Mexico and of Canada as well as that of middle North America. The story of the aborigines, too, bulks larger in this volume than in the usual history texts, for which the author is to be commended. But the work is sadly marred by the jibes of a blatant liberal, whose needless animadversions on things Christian and Catholic are not only unhistorical (i.e., untrue) but are in the worst possible taste as well.

The volume opens with a treatment of Spanish and French concepts, enterprise, exploration and conquests on the North American continent during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries [Chapters I-VI], and continues with a study of British, Anglo-American, Canadian, and American undertakings in the same area until the first decade of the nineteenth century [Chapters VII-XII]. The threads of the pattern are finally woven in the dramatic contest for priority in the Columbia Basin between the survivors in the contest: the British [Fraser and Thompson] and the Americans [Lewis and Clark]. The contest for the fur trade, the place of sea voyages, the role of the "Western Sea" and its outlet, the "River of the West," the prospects of trade with China, the influence of the Revolutionary War, the ambitions of the new United States and of Thomas Jefferson in particular, are related with verve and perspective. Excellent sketches of the leading personalities and of their contributions are given. Thus the names of Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, DeSoto, Garcés and Escalante; of Vérendyre, Perrot, La Salle, d'Iberville and La Harpe; of Carver, Cook, Mackenzie, Fraser and Thompson; of G. R. Clark, Pond, Gray, and Lewis and Clark and their exploits fill these pages in the best Bolton manner to whom, and to "the well-known group of his disciples," the author makes his obeisance. It is, indeed, a rattling good story of the "men and the events they produce," and it complements in many respects the more formal historical texts of the day.

Unfortunately, the author cannot suppress his liberal tenets—whose profession, incidentally, the subject matter of this book did not require. "Miracles" abound, as do legends and clichés for this naïve psychoanalyst. The "Spanish genius for treachery" is scored, as is Spanish cruelty, and the Spanish clergy are at least once basely caricatured (p. 38). But his most baneful potions are concocted for the Jesuits. Was greater nonsense ever written about this order than pages 89 and 100? And what is the

"Jesuit International" (pp. 132, 136), whose powers were, indeed, formidable and fantastic? His own dogmatizing and editorializing are maddening; and his gullibility for legends is amazing. He must, it seems, thrust into his narrative matters he simply does not understand and which have no relevance to his story. *C'est dommage qu'il a été si mal élevé.* Although there is no formal bibliography, the documentary and secondary works listed at the opening of each chapter are very complete; the index is not adequate, and occasionally there are obscurities in style. The maps by Erwin Raisz are numerous and excellent. On page 348 one should read Smoky River; on page 388, Santo Domingo; and on page 562, Henry R. Wagner.

William L. Davis

Gonzaga University

Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Instructions and Despatches: 1816-1861. Two Volumes. Edited, both introduction and notes, by Howard R. Marraro. (New York: S. F. Vanni. 1052. Pp. xiv, 683; xxi, 781. $35.00.)

The title should be sufficient to indicate that these are volumes designed for reference work. The work arrives at an opportune time when American scholars are becoming increasingly aware of the charm of Italy's past, in much the same way that American tourists are impressed by the beauty and variety of the Italy of today.

Professor Marraro of Columbia University rightly says that "certainly this country, and the world for that matter, could profit by a better understanding of Italo-American relations throughout the years" (I, 2). Certainly Dr. Marraro himself has been largely responsible for a remarkable series of contributions to the historiography of Italy in the United States. It is safe to say that his knowledge of this literature is unsurpassed in the United States. This reviewer, in fact, was especially impressed with the comprehensive introduction supplied by the editor, which illuminates the whole picture of American diplomatic relations with the various Italian states from their inception to the end of World War II. Utilizing the services of research assistants in New York, Washington, and Naples, he has furnished a plethora of explanatory footnotes, six appendices, and a really fine index. Professor Marraro notes the contributions of Catholic scholars such as Leo F. Stock, Paul C. Perrotta, and Joseph H. Brady to the literature surrounding the subject.

The official correspondence itself covers forty-five years of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies which is here published for the first time. It provides source material of inestimable value for the historian, and offers engrossing reading for all those legions who enjoy first-hand narratives of important historical events by persons who participated in them. The dispatches, diplomatic notes, and instructions which form this correspondence recreate for us the infant years of our Republic and enhance our view of the men who achieved the task of founding the young country in a place of dignity among the nations of the world, and who arranged for its advantageous commercial agreements, some of which are still in force today.

Reading over the instructions of the various secretaries of state of this period, we commence to admire the foresight, the broadly international outlook, and the high grade mentality of these largely untraveled Americans who "held their own" with seasoned European diplomats. Very revealing, too, are the on-the-spot reports of conditions in Italy and Sicily during these years. Throughout these dispatches are reflected the first stirrings in the minds of Italians toward a united nation, and a sense of revolt against foreign oppression. It brings renewed hope and confidence to the reader of today.

All this is by way of saying that Professor Marraro has made another distinctive contribution to scholarship. Though the volumes are priced high, it is the belief of this reviewer that all universities offering graduate work will find it necessary to purchase this work for their historical reference shelves.

George L. A. Reilly

Seton Hall University

Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage. By Ruth Painter Randall. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1952. Pp. xiv, 555. $5.75.)

The three published volumes of what promises to be the definitive life of Abraham Lincoln establish James G. Randall as the foremost authority of our time on the Lincoln story. It is singularly appropriate that Professor Randall's research should have inspired the family partnership of which Ruth Painter Randall's biography of Mary Todd Lincoln is the product. A chapter in the first volume of *Lincoln: The President*—"The House on Eighth Street"—together with a supplementary note on "The Ann Rutledge Evidence" in Volume II presented evidence for a long overdue revision of the treatment of the much maligned wife of the Great Emancipator, as well as of the fictionized legend of his romance with Ann Rutledge. David Donald's biography of William H. Herndon, which was undertaken under Professor Randall's direction and published in 1948, is, according to Mrs. Randall, an "essential steppingstone toward a truer understanding of Mrs. Lincoln."

Ruth Painter Randall, in assembling this earlier research and supplementing it with an intensive survey of the mass of source material in public and private collections of Lincolnia, has produced what is without doubt the definitive biography of Mary Lincoln. In the course of her exploration Mrs. Randall has turned up a number of hitherto unknown or unused sources, including important letters in the possession of various relatives of Mrs. Lincoln, of the Edwards family, and in the Stuart Brown Collection.

From this perceptive, sympathetic, but never sentimental or pietistic study of Mary Lincoln there emerges an intelligent woman, a devoted wife and mother, a loyal and generous friend; in short, a human being possessed of her full quota of the normal virtues as well as some of the frailties to which her fellow creatures are prone. Mrs. Randall's carefully marshalled evidence indicates that Mrs. Lincoln was sometimes emotionally unstable and increasingly so under the stress of the White House years and the succession of personal tragedies which befell her; that she was lacking in self control and overly dependent upon her husband in times of crisis; that she was in her later life the subject of real mental aberrations in connection with finances; that her gullibility and poor judgment persuaded her on occasions to trust the wrong people with sad consequences for herself and her husband.

At the same time Mrs. Randall has presented the data to put at rest forever the largely Herndon-begotten legend of the shrewish, unloving, and unloved wife. She has also refuted the oft repeated charge that Mary Lincoln was not only pro-southern but actively assisting the cause of the Confederacy. On the contrary, there is substantial evidence to support her devotion to the Union cause as well as her sympathetic accord with her husband's shifting attitude toward slavery as the war progressed. Besides her staunch loyalty to an adored husband there were other foundations for this. Writes Mrs. Randall:

> The warmhearted young girl in Kentucky had loved the colored house servants and had abhorred the cruelties of slavery. She had grown up under the influence of those who believed in compensated emancipation and she married a man who believed in this method of gradually abolishing slavery.

In addition there was her friendship for such abolitionists as Charles Sumner, Jane Grey Swissholm, and that "remarkable colored woman," her friend and dressmaker, Elizabeth Keckley. While not claiming for her subject "a wisdom that went down the long reach of history," Mrs. Randall shows that Mary Lincoln accompanied her husband in his progress toward abolitionism and gave no slight proof of her own sympathies in the process.

Besides writing a fine biography and correcting a long established historical injustice, Mrs. Randall has made an outstanding contribution to the social history of the United States, especially in her treatment of the

Lexington-Springfield period of Mary Todd Lincoln's life. Through her portrayal of the family life of the Lincolns she has added to our understanding of the great president. One is led to hope that her skilled historical craftsmanship and familiarity with the Lincoln sources will be used to assist in the completion of her husband's unfinished masterpiece.

MADELEINE HOOKE RICE

Hunter College of the City of New York

The Pioneer Jews of Utah. By Leon L. Watters. [Studies in American History, Number 2.] (New York: American Jewish Historical Society. 1952. Pp. viii, 199. $2.50.)

In this unpretentious and scholarly monograph the author, himself a descendant of one of the first Jewish families to settle in Utah, develops the early history of his co-religionists in the western stronghold of Mormonism. It is a fine example of local historical research, and is distinguished by almost complete objectivity in its account of the relations, often strained and embittered, between dominant Mormonism and the "Gentile" groups who sought to establish a foothold in Utah in the pioneer era. For, as Dr. Watters reminds us—with occasional humorous anecdote—Utah was, perhaps, the one place in the western world where the Jew was classified as a Gentile, as distinguished from those who considered themselves the true chosen people. Jewish infiltration of Utah began, actually, during the first decade of the Mormon settlement of the territory. Alive to the opportunities of trade along the highways of western emigration, Jewish merchants were among the first to open stores along Main Street in Great Salt Lake City, even during the troubled years of the Utah War (1857-1859). These were among the first non-Mormons to become permanent residents of the community. It was, of course, the discovery of the rich ore bodies in the Utah mountains, in the decade of the 1860's, which created the nucleus of a regular Jewish colony. By 1867 Jewish merchants were established in Corinne, Alta, and Bingham Canyon, as well as in the Latter-Day Saint capital. Two years later, when the completion of the transcontinental railroad seemed to threaten Mormon hegemony in Utah, and Brigham Young decreed what was in effect an economic boycott of the Gentile merchants and bankers, Utah Jews were prominent among those who offered to sell out their holdings to the Church authorities. Young's answer was a classic snub, but in the event the boycott failed to work, and the Gentiles and the Jews stayed on in competition.

Jewish religious services, in connection with the leading feasts of the Law, seem to have been organized as early as 1864, that is, co-eval with the appearance of the first permanent Protestant and Catholic missions in the territory. Utah Jewry, however, failed to grow significantly in the later decades of the century, and while a synagogue was erected in 1883, it was long burdened with debt and was only irregularly served by a rabbi. Certain dissensions among the Salt Lake Jews apparently retarded its successful establishment and not until the period following World War I did Judaism in Utah attain mature stature. In the person of Simon Bamberger, who served as Governor of Utah from 1917 to 1921, the Utah Jewish colony produced its most notable figure. The Utah mines gave him his wealth, and he, in turn, provided the state with an administration singularly free from extravagance or corruption.

It is evident that Dr. Watters completed the bulk of this work a number of years ago, and its current publication provides almost no information concerning the present status of Judaism in the state. Nor does he undertake any evaluation of the actual relations of his co-religionists with the Mormon majority of the community. Nevertheless, his book is a useful addition to Utahana, that fascinating study of religious and social conflict in the Far West.

✠ Robert J. Dwyer
Bishop of Reno

The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912 By Ira Kipnis. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. 496. $6.00.)

This book is concerned broadly with the history of the socialist agitation and its affiliations with the Progressive movement which rose and flourished during the years covered by the study. Specifically, the author deals with the diverse origins, growth, and decline of the Socialist Party of the United States. With one or two exceptions he treats exhaustively all phases of the party's history, making full though discriminating use of voluminous manuscript and printed materials. These he excellently annotates in thirty-seven packed pages of bibliography. Kipnis lays bare the inner life of the movement in terms of ideological and personality conflicts. If at first left and center groups, loyal to Marx's revolutionary program, ruled the party, they were unable to hold the field against the center and right whose "constructive" socialism was a reformist program of middle class opposition to monopoly. As the beloved Debs, a member of the left, continued to head the party's presidential ticket, reform socialists, notably John Spargo, Morris Hillquit, and Victor L. Berger, "the American Bernstein," increasingly determined its program and strategy. While conceding that the reformist policy brought many local electoral victories, the author contends that the party's "broad spirit of opportunism" diverted attention from the needs of exploited workers and encouraged factionalism which, present from the party's birth, contributed to its rapid decline after 1912.

Some features of Professor Kipnis' book are worthy of special commendation. One of these is the clarity with which industrial socialism, mainly confined to the IWW, is related to the whole socialist picture. The role of the Wobbly leader "Big Bill" Haywood in the general socialist movement is also well portrayed. Only by implication, however, does the author exhibit the great influence exerted by socialists on the enactment of labor legislation and other social reform measures. Many of the men mentioned, but scarcely identified, actively participated in various crusades for social betterment of whose existence the author seems unaware. Perfunctory also is the attention given to Christianity as a propelling, restraining, or modifying influence on the socialist program.

Though not without its limitations, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912,* is a significant piece of research. With other first rate monographs that have recently appeared on the Progressive movement, it illuminates a curiously neglected period in our historiography. On the socialism of the period this study is the only one that can make any claim to completeness. It is to be regretted, of course, that socialism's influence on evolutionary reform is less felicitiously handled than reform's impact on socialism. Nevertheless, the book's appearance is symbolic, in this day of communist challenge, of the determination on the part of American historians to probe the bearing and influence of left-wing movements on the fortunes of democracy.

AARON I. ABELL

University of Notre Dame

The Diplomats, 1919-1939. Edited by Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 700. $9.00.)

Despite a possibly lessened importance in the twentieth century, the diplomat has been very conspicuous. There is a public recognition of his services, whether these services are performed in the home bureaucracy of permanent officials or by representation of the state abroad. Moreover, foreign office chiefs, permanent undersecretaries, ministers and ambassadors, or specially appointed agents, can be the very important instruments for executing great decisions, or for negotiations preliminary to such decisions; or they may become appropriate deceptive influences when it becomes the policy of governments themselves to accomplish what used to be the work of more responsible servants who, abroad or at home, might "lie for their country." Like the military services, the diplomats are subject to the civil power, which is to say that they are commanded by politicians, and if they are unfortunate enough to serve at the direction of professional revolutionaries they are likely to co-operate in self-destruction; but regardless of the type of régime for which they work, they have been (so far in this century) liable, and in some proportion to the front rank importance of their state, to leave behind them a record of cross purposes and disillusionment. It would seem to be appropriate to call this volume, which is a co-operative undertaking by seventeen historians, an autopsy of professional diplomacy between two world wars.

The work is well done. It is very informative and, considering the number of contributors, remarkable for its uniformity of expression. Western Europe, Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, Eastern Europe, America, the Soviet Union, Japan—all furnish the subject matter which affords intimate glimpses of policies in operation, while the conceptual frame work provides an excellent method of exploiting all of the recently published and pertinent archival material.

Curiously, of all the sovereign states to which one finds reference, the United States relied most upon dispatches from its diplomats in order to make policy. This is brought out in Mr. Kaufmann's essay on William Bullitt and Joseph Kennedy. But these men became diplomats almost accidentally, and Dexter Perkins remarks in an earlier essay upon the absence of a strong permanent staff of American officials, e.g., from the Harding inauguration through the Hoover administration there were no fewer than six undersecretaries of state. For the European powers, after 1919 the career services continued to function as well as the rapidly changing political administrations permitted, but the greatest diminution of their effectiveness came about when totalitarian governments became practitioners of the "surprise diplomacy" which disturbed international relations in the 1930's. There are some at least superficial resemblances in what the dictators practiced to the personalized diplomacy of Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George during the Versailles period; on the other hand, the peaceful elimination of those war leaders had meant a return to a modified "old diplomacy" which accorded well with a general restoration of constitutional practices. The book divides at about the year 1932, but not perfectly with respect to all of the characters involved. Nevertheless, by concentrating first on early and then on later aspects of one or another country's diplomatic personnel the contrasts are sharply defined. The stress throughout is upon career men, and thus, for France, we have studies of Berthelot and Saint-Léger Léger rather than of Briand; but it is also possible in this way to learn more about Briand. The second part affords some vivid details on the *Walpurgisnacht* of European diplomacy, when totalitarian dictators reduced the old career service men to just so many "shadows, moving around in the usual way but without purpose." That phrase is employed to describe Italian officials who discovered that they were at the mercy of Ciano's inspirations, but the point is made that Mussolini did not depart from a conventional policy, directed by the professional diplomats, until after 1932; before that time the only "shadows" were the Soviet emissaries to the various capitals. Clearest of the subjugations was that of the well-ordered German Foreign Office to Ribbentrop and Hitler. Trained to serve the national interest, their continued usefulness under Hitler, like that of the German General Staff, lay in the field of technical competence. Through them as intermediaries policies which were in fact revolutionary, so as to embrace the entire destruction of the state system—within which diplomats conventionally administer particular interests, were presented to appeasers, who welcomed an opportunity to fulfill by "peaceful diplomatic practices" some apparently legitimate national aspiration. The irony of the situation is probably best presented in the complementary stories of Herbert von Dirksen and Sir Nevile Henderson.

No catalogue of omissions is necessary, or even justifiable, for the editors explain in the introduction that they have selected personalities with some reference to available source material and not to prove any thesis. They confess only to an attempt to show that, "It is dangerous to carry distrust of professional diplomacy to the point where you always insist upon doing what the professionals say must not be done and always refuse to do what they describe as necessary." But the pattern of international relations which emerges from this study suggests that an important distinction ought to be made with reference to totalitarian states. Granted that the professional diplomats are not to be branded as essentially "appeasers"— and if there were a study of Lord Vansittart included that would be doubly clear—still the pessimist finds here a notion of the futility of diplomatic competence and "diplomatic machinery" which is unsupported by a martial spirit, or which is compromised by a public opinion inclined to view the potential enemy as a partially or wholly justified rebel against the *status quo*. Conversely, the utilization of such competence by professional revolutionaries operates to dull the reflexes of "peace-loving democracies," and to give the illusion of reasonableness where there is no such thing. Where Nazis or communists choose to negotiate, there is room only to betray one's friends.

John T. Farrell

The Catholic University of America

Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor. By Matthew Josephson. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1952. Pp. 701. $5.00.)

The American dream, crudely defined as a rise from "rags to riches," became a reality for Sidney Hillman in a way the original John D. Rockefeller would not have thought possible. Hillman died no rich man but he rose out of a Chicago ghetto to exercise economic and political power that few industrialists ever achieved. When the final history of modern

America is written this little Russian-born Jew, it may be decided, will have exercised a greater power for good than many of his enemies. As a matter of fact, Hillman might have been a great and beloved political name in our country were it not for his Russian ancestry and the Jewish accent which he never lost. He was an idealist and a zealot for his fellow man, an indefatigable worker, an exceptional organizer, a leader who commanded enthusiastic loyalty, a man of courage, and, when it came to political compromise, an artist of the first magnitude.

Hillman came from a religious family and his early religious instincts led him first into socialism and trade unionism and later into humanitarianism of all descriptions. He was far from being the Rasputin the editorial writers of the 1940's depicted him, when "clear it with Sidney" was intended to strike terror in the hearts of pure-blooded Americans. He was a clothing worker who did more for the clothing industry than any manufacturer and who created a type of unionism that serves as a model to union leaders all over the world. Hillman made working in the men's garment industry a respectable occupation. He gave dignity to hundreds of thousands of immigrants who otherwise would have been, and up to Hillman had been, exploited.

Regardless of his politics, the reader of this book soon realizes that Hillman, almost alone, made American unionism political-minded. He had great faith in Franklin Roosevelt and in the desirability of government action in the economic field. He encouraged, during the wild days of March, 1933, experiment in government legislation, not because he was a radical or a socialist (any longer) but because past measures and laissez faire were proven failures. He was as much responsible for the NRA (along with scared manufacturers) as anyone else and saw it enacted into law by FDR "without great enthusiasm (by the President) for this epoch-making bill." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America played a leading part in the resurgence of trade unionism after 1933. Without him John L. Lewis would never have succeeded in his secession from the A. F. of L. If it were not for his national origin, he and not Philip Murray, might have succeeded Lewis as president of the C. I. O. He conceived and organized the greatest experiment by American labor unions in political action when he formed the PAC.

Hillman was always the man behind the throne, not in any sinister sense, but simply because circumstances relegated him to that role. He was a great compromiser. He rarely, if ever, allowed differences of opinion or conviction to create barriers between him and other people. That is why he organized the men's clothing industry so effectively and why Roosevelt found him valuable as a wartime mediator between management and labor officials in Washington. This facility to get along, even with enemies, did not preclude him from great battles. When he took on the

Lepke mob in the 1920's he drove the racketeers (at the risk of his life) from the industry so completely that they have stayed out of the garment district of New York ever since.

Obviously he was not a saint, nor were his ideas and programs always acceptable, although his biographer proves himself a poor critical analyst of his subject matter by his blatant partisanship. Hillman was vain; he liked to be in the company of the great. He was hoodwinked from time to time by his own ability to compromise. Being a pragmatist, he missed the boat completely on the issue of communism in American life (although he ruthlessly kept them out of his union). After World War I he was of the mind that "there was no question of entering into disputes over theories of government which may be of interest to a few but do not concern the great masses of the people" (p. 263). He never admitted how wrong that judgment was, or how wrong he was on the World Federation of Trade Unions and Henry Wallace.

This biography by Josephson makes interesting reading, although from a scholarly standpoint it leaves something to be desired. The original sources are not properly identified, the footnotes poorly recorded, and the interviews not always clearly noted. The footnotes are in the back of the book and some important allegations are not documented at all. For example, "Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, in mid-October [1944], discovered that Hillman's PAC was spending dollars 'like confetti' in order to defeat her in a Connecticut congressional district. 'If my head is to roll in a basket,' she exclaimed, 'at least it's a more American head than Sidney Hillman's'" (p. 631). Even rudimentary scholarship requires that an allegation of this kind be documented. It is not.

GEORGE A. KELLY

St. Monica's Church
New York City

History of the Americas. Volume I. *The Colonial Americas.* By John Francis Bannon. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1952. Pp. xii, 582. $5.50.)

Ever since Herbert Eugene Bolton inaugurated the first course on the history of the Americas at the University of California almost a generation ago, interest has increased in this type of approach to the study of the development of the western hemisphere. The novelty of the course lay in the fact that instead of taking a survey of the United States and another of Latin America, the student was given a complete history of the whole western world. The exponents of this approach argued that all the nations of the western hemisphere had their basic periods of development in common. There was the era of European discovery and exploration, the period of colonization, the wars of independence and (outside of Brazil) the development of republican experiments in the third decade of the nineteenth century. The American hemisphere also presented an ideological similarity. It was everywhere to some extent a land of hope, peopled by European immigrants who in one way or another had there a chance for a better life and for advancement beyond what the old world had to offer. Thus it was argued, a course which unfolded the whole story of the western hemisphere was far better for orientation value than the old conventional, departmentalized approach. But converts outside of California were few. The eastern schools, more tradition minded, clung to the older method of presentation. The disciples of Professor Bolton struggled in many cases without success to introduce the history of the Americas in the curricula of the United States universities.

Thus it is with great pleasure that this reviewer welcomes the appearance of this new text by Dr. Bannon. Father John Francis Bannon, chairman of the Department of History of St. Louis University and former graduate student of Dr. Bolton at Berkeley, has presented the first volume of a two-volume work on the history of the western hemisphere. The book is admirably suited to classroom use. To any teacher several features immediately recommend themselves. First the chapters are short, thus giving the student the essential facts within a relatively brief space and in a clear manner of presentation which prevents the cluttering of his mind with unnecessary details. Secondly, there is at the beginning of each chapter a short chronological summary of the contents with the important dates emphasized so as to make these inevitable, pre-examination reviews easier and clearer. Two types of bibliography are included, the book lists at the end of the chapters are largely composed of easily obtainable books in English, while the general bibliography at the end of the volume contains the great standard works of reference in English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese. In the opinion of this reviewer the study is a definite contribution in the college textbook field. The chapters on Brazil, so often confused in many texts, are here set forth in logical and clear fashion. Brazil is frequently very little understood by many authors on South American history who too often present it as an afterthought to Hispanic America.

To write the history of the development of the western hemisphere is no easy task, and to present it to college students who have no previous orientation on the matter is more difficult still. Father Bannon has overcome his difficulties very well. We look forward eagerly to the second volume of this excellent study.

Thomas E. Downey

University of Notre Dame

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The records of the earliest nation-wide Catholic organization of the United States are being preserved at the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America. The transfer of the old files of the National Catholic War Council, covering especially the years 1917-1921, from the warehouse of its successor organization, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, to this depository of source materials on American Catholicism was recently completed. In these papers are to be found the most complete evidence of American Catholic participation in World War I. The parish listings of servicemen which were brought together from every diocese in the country by the historical records bureau of the war council have been put on 3,000 feet of microfilm for better preservation. Contained in another 100 feet of original documents are the records of the work carried on by Catholic visitor and community houses at home and abroad, of the war-time efforts of scholars and other organizations, and of employment and social service agencies carrying on various types of reconstruction work after the war. The preservation of these war records at the Catholic University of America had been decreed by the administrative committee of the National Catholic War Council as early as 1918.

Two archaeological finds announced during the past summer will be of interest to students of American Catholic history. An expedition from the University of Chicago completed on August 15, two months of diggings near Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, which revealed, below a bluff near the town, the site of an Indian village believed to date back at least to 5000 B.C., and possibly to 8000 B.C. The perfect formation of strata, indicating succeeding generations of inhabitants at the village, was said to be among the finest in North America. Prairie du Rocher is located about forty miles southeast of St. Louis in Randolph County, Illinois. It was founded in 1719 by the French who during the previous winter had begun the construction of Fort de Chartres about five miles to the north. At Prairie du Rocher the settlers built St. Joseph's Church, which numbered among its pastors several well known missionary and pioneer priests, such as Sebastian Meurin, the sole ex-Jesuit to remain in the Illinois Country after the suppression of the Society of Jesus. Father Meurin died there on February 23, 1777. The famous Sulpician, Gabriel Richard, also served as parish priest of St. Joseph's from 1793 to 1798, when he moved to Detroit. Prairie du Rocher has had a parochial history of almost 250 years and is today a thriving parish of the Diocese of Belleville.

The second find was the completion of the unearthing of the stockaded Indian village of Caughnawaga, a Mohawk settlement, the site of which is near Fonda, New York, on the northern bank of the Mohawk River about forty miles northwest of Albany. It was at Caughnawaga that English and Dutch traders and missionaries made some of their earliest contacts with the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, and the village also figured prominently in the missionary efforts of the French Jesuits in the late seventeenth century. It will be chiefly remembered by many as the childhood home of Kateri Tegakouita, the young Mohawk girl whose cause has been introduced for beatification. Some years ago the site, consisting of about 140 acres, was acquired by the Black Franciscans and since that time the excavations, under the direction of Thomas Grassmann, O.F.M.Conv., have brought to light the exact site of the Indian town, determined by what might be considered a map of the old settlement, viz., a series of impressions of stake holes outlining the buildings.

American Catholic educational history gives promise of being an area for much revisionist writing with the re-exploration not only of episcopal papers, but the unearthing of records of school boards and superintendents' offices. Even the evidence to be found in little known synodal decrees remains to be used. To cite an example, the commonly accepted fact that the Diocese of Cleveland in March, 1887, had the first diocesan school board set up in conformity with the legislation of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore is called into question by the action expressed in the decree of the Fifth Synod of New York erecting a Catholic School Board in November, 1886.

The appearance in July of "The Labor Historians' Bulletin," a mimeographed newsletter, marked the first public notice of a new group of historians interested in a special field of research. The bulletin is edited by Louis H. Arky of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois, and includes items on the location of source materials in American labor history, a statement of ten aims which the labor historians seek to fulfill, an editorial, and a listing of work in progress in the field. This group got its start as the result of a suggestion made by the Reverend Henry J. Browne, who as curator of the Powderly and Mitchell Papers at the Catholic University of America, had been in contact with a number of researchers in labor history. Dr. Arky was the driving force behind an organizational meeting held during the annual convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Lexington in May, at which there was named a temporary eight-man executive committee. The labor historians hope to meet regularly in conjunction with the larger associations.

The Manuscript Society, which at its meeting last May in Columbus changed its name from the National Society of Autograph Collectors, has issued a *Manuscript Collectors Directory,* a small booklet of 100 pages. It contains an alphabetical listing with addresses of private collectors, dealers, private institutions, and public depositories followed by a geographical grouping of these persons and institutions. A further attempt is made to classify collecting specialties under subject headings. The booklet is noted as the first attempt to classify "the holdings and wants of a large group of collectors of autographic material in the United States." The society's effort is partial to its own members and admittedly very incomplete, but its hope is to have subsequent issues containing additions and improvements, and, ultimately, the much desired and long talked of complete catalog of manuscripts. This handy directory sells for $4.00 to non-members and may be obtained from the Manuscript Society, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City 17. The quarterly publication of the society is hereafter to be called *Manuscripts.*

On July 13, the members of the annual Institute on the Preservation and Administration of Archives for the fourth consecutive year held a session at the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America. This training class for archivists and manuscript curators gathers every summer at the National Archives in Washington under the sponsorship of the American University. The fifteen participants this year came from all over the United States, as well as one representative each from Ecuador and Brazil. Four educational institutions were represented: Tuskegee Institute, Georgetown and Temple Universities, and the University of California at Los Angeles. The Archivist of the University gave a lecture on college and university archives and later joined with Dr. Ernest Posner, director of the course, in a discussion of religious archives in the United States.

The new St. Mary's Cathedral in Ogdensburg, New York, which was dedicated on October 24, 1952, contains about as complete a set of stained glass windows devoted to subjects from American Catholic history as one will find anywhere in the country. The principal medallions depict episodes from the life of Christ, but in what are called the historical medallions one meets with many familiar Catholic names and events in the past of the United States, of New York State, and of the Diocese of Ogdensburg. Here one will see, e.g., François Picquet, S.S., laying the foundation of Fort Présentation in May, 1749, on the present site of Ogdensburg, the ceremony of the cornerstone of Caldwell Hall at the Catholic University of America in May, 1888, and Leo XIII announcing his encyclical, *Rerum novarum,* in May, 1891, with Cardinal Gibbons, who had won recent fame in the Knights of Labor case, standing by his side. Others who find a place in the windows are Samuel Champlain, Kateri Tegakouita, Mother Elizabeth Seton, St. Frances Xavier Cabrini, Mother Alphonsa Lathrop, Junipero Serra, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Archbishops John Carroll and John Hughes, and Edgar P. Wadhams, the first bishop of Ogdensburg, being consecrated on May 5, 1872, by John McCloskey, Archbishop of New York. This is an excellent way to keep before the American Catholic people an awareness of their religious history. An attractive seventy-paged brochure entitled, *A Guide to the Stained Glass Windows of St. Mary's Cathedral, Ogdensburg, New York,* has been prepared by Father Joseph G. Bailey, who is professor of history in Wadhams Hall, the preparatory seminary of the Diocese of Ogdensburg.

National Archives Publication No. 53-20 is a reprint of John P. Harrison's "The Archives of United States Diplomatic and Consular Posts in Latin America," which appeared in the February issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review.* There are two maps showing the diplomatic posts in Ibero-America for which records are available in the National Archives.

FOLIA, Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics, has published complete dossiers of primary sources on Damasus, Prudentius, Juvencus, Bacchiarius, and other Spaniards (mostly of the fourth century). Similar material will soon be published on Maximus Usurpator, Hosius, and Theodosius. Concurrently with Volume VII, No. 1, *Preliminary Studies for the Interpretation of St. Augustine's Concept of Providence,* has just been published. Exhaustive indices to "providentia" in all Augustine's works have been compiled by Johannes Götte of the Canisius Kolleg in Berlin. Götte will soon publish an anthology of the best passages illustrative of Augustine's thought. The work of his colleague, H. Hohensee, *The Augustinian Concept of Authority,* complete with indices and anthology, is now available. *Folio* apears twice a year, and the price is $1.00. The work of J. Götte sells for 50 cents to *Folia* subscribers, to all others, $1.00. All inquiries should be addressed to Mr. M. A. Norton, 70 Remsen Street, Brooklyn 2, New York.

A catalogue of *Mediaeval and Renaissance Music Manuscripts* with a foreword by A. Beverly Barksdale has been published by the Toledo Museum of Art (1953). The manuscripts described were placed on exhibition at the Toledo Museum of Art in the first important exhibition of such manuscripts ever to be attempted. The detailed descriptions of the manuscripts are accompanied by an explanation of the notation used in various countries and a number of excellent reproductions.

Bulletin No. 22 of the *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada* appeared in July. It endeavors to list institutions of learning in the United States and Canada according to the importance of their work in different mediaeval fields. The ranking was done through a poll of scholars, who were subsequently weighted by the editor. From six to eighteen institutions are listed in the various fields. The bulletin gives further lists of papers read at meetings of learned societies in 1951 and 1952, of active scholars, of projects, photostats, books in press, and dissertations in progress. It is published by S. Harrison Thomson at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, and may be purchased for $2.00.

Windows on the Infinite is the title of the 1953 volume of studies by seniors of Marygrove College, Detroit. The fifteen papers treat of the papacy and the liberal arts, with titles like "The University in the Christian Tradition" and "The Vatican Library." They are put together with great care from a wealth of literature on their subjects. They will inspire the readers for whom they are intended just as obviously their preparation stirred their authors.

A propos of the recent volume of *Hierarchia Catholica,* Giovanni Odvardi, O.F.M.Conv., published a fifteen-page article, "La *Hierarchia Catholica,* precedenti storici e sua realizzazione," in *Miscellanea Francescana* for January.

In commemoration of the fourth centenary of the death of St. Francis Xavier last year, the *Archivum Societatis Jesu* dedicated Volume XXII (1953) to him with a sheaf of articles on him and on the oldest Jesuit missions. The articles are listed in our Periodical Literature.

Sister M. Immaculate Bodenstedt, S.N.D., of Notre Dame Academy, Toledo, Ohio, took the occasion of the fifth centenary of Ghiberti's east doors of the Baptistry at Florence to write an article on the subject in the June, 1952, issue of *Carnegie Magazine.*

Universidad, review of the University of Zaragoza, has published an index for the years 1924-1949.

The summer issue of *Studies* devotes five articles to Newman and various aspects of education.

Announcement was made on June 26 of the appointment of the Most Reverend Bryan J. McEntegart, Bishop of Ogdensburg, as eighth Rector of the Catholic University of America. Bishop McEntegart took the master's degree at the University in 1918 where he majored in sociology under the late Monsignor William J. Kerby. He then studied at the New York School of Social Work from which he was graduated in 1920. Thereafter for over twenty years he was associated in various capacities with Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York. He was consecrated as fifth ordinary of the See of Ogdensburg on August 3, 1943. During his time as an official of Catholic Charities in New York he taught in the School of Social Work of Fordham University. Bishop McEntegart received the honorary LL.D. from Manhattan College in 1939 and the same degree from Fordham in 1946. The editors of the REVIEW take this opportunity to extend their congratulations to the new Rector of the University and to wish for him many long and fruitful years in the important post to which he has been appointed by the Holy See.

A tribute to Friedrich Engel-Janosi on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday appears in Band 5 (1952) of *Mitteilungen des oesterreichischen Staatsarchivs*. The article, written by Anna Coreth of Vienna, lists the many writings of Professor Engel-Janosi since their beginning in 1921.

John-Marie Cassese, O.F.M., has been appointed by his superiors as archivist of the Franciscan Province of the Immaculate Conception. Father Cassese will work at the Provincial Curia, 147 Thompson Street, New York City 12.

A. L. Gabriel, director of the Medieval Institute at the University of Notre Dame, has been elected to membership in the International Free Academy of Science and Letters, which was organized in 1952 to provide exiled scholars scattered throughout the world with intellectual and moral backing for the purpose of increasing their feeling of mutual solidarity. Father Gabriel left his native Hungary in 1947 where he was a professor in the University of Budapest, and in 1948 joined the faculty at Notre Dame.

Edward Gargan, former program director of the Sheil School of Social Studies, joined the faculty of Loyola University, Chicago, in June where he now holds the rank of assistant professor of history. Mr. Gargan is chairman of the Association's Committee on Program for the annual meeting at Chicago during this coming Christmas week.

Edmund A. Moore of the University of Connecticut has received a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council for a study he is making on the issue of Church and State in the presidential campaign of Governor Alfred E. Smith in 1928.

Père Marcel Viller, S.J., editor of the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* for nearly twenty years, died on October 6, 1952, at the age of seventy-two. He was also associated with the *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*.

Albert De Meyer, professor of history at the University of Louvain and editor of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* since 1922, died on November 10, 1952, at the age of sixty-five. He was the successor of Canon Alfred Cauchie as director of the Louvain history seminar and editor of the *Revue*. In 1926 he, with Professor van Cauwenbergh, assumed the editorship of the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. He gave himself without stint to the work of teaching and editing. His earliest writing was on the history of Jansenism, and just before his death, he, with J. M. DeSmet, was publishing precious studies on the beginnings of the Carthusians. A two-volume mélange was presented to him in honor of his sixtieth birthday. His colleague, Professor L. Van de Essen, publishes a very human obituary notice in the first issue of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* for 1953. His death is a great loss to scholarship and especially to the *Revue*. But by his faithful efforts he has so well established its pattern that it can carry on its high traditions without faltering.

Père Joseph Canivez, historian of the Cistercian order and zealous contributor to the great French *dictionnaires* on Cistercian subjects, died at his monastery of Scourmont in Belgium on November 24, 1952, at the age of seventy-four.

Among the French scholars who have died recently are Olivier Martin, distinguished Catholic professor in the school of law at the University of Paris and authority in the history of French legal institutions, and Joseph Calmette, professor emeritus of Toulouse, prolific writer on mediaeval history. Two of his books for advanced students: *Le monde féodal* and *L'élaboration du monde moderne,* are very familiar to American students. He wrote over a period of fifty years.

Dr. Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev, professor emeritus of the University of Wisconsin and member of the board of scholars of Dumbarton Oaks, died on May 30 in his eighty-sixth year. Born at St. Petersburg in Russia, he taught successively at the Universities of Dorpat and St. Petersburg. In 1925 he came to the University of Wisconsin, where he taught ancient and, his special field, Byzantine history, until his retirement in 1939. After a term as visiting professor at the University of Cairo in Egypt he was named a scholar of Dumbarton Oaks, which enabled him to pursue his research and writing in Byzantine history. Among his many books and articles, his *History of the Byzantine Empire,* published originally in Russia, saw two English editions, and editions in French and Spanish. A few months before his death, the genial old scholar visited Greece and Istanbul and was given a great ovation in recognition of his contributions to their history.

Hilaire Belloc died on July 16 just eleven days short of his eighty-third birthday. His literary output was prodigious, and in all he was the author of over 150 books which ranged over the fields of history, biography, poetry, essay, and fiction. As a boy he had attended the Oratory School, Edgbaston, in the days when the aged Cardinal Newman was still seen walking through its corridors. In 1893 he matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he became Brackenbury History Scholar and in 1895 won first class honors in history. For four years, 1906-1910, he was a member of Parliament for South Salford. But since he was not given financial support by the Liberal Party machine when a second election was called within one year, he declined to stand at his own expense and, therefore, withdrew from active political life. In 1911 he founded and edited *The Eyewitness,* an independent weekly journal, and from that time to 1942, when a serious illness overtook him, he devoted his great talents and energies to writing, lecturing, and debating. His most famous debates were those in which he joined his great friend, Gilbert K. Chesterton, in verbal bouts with George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells. Beginning with his *Danton* in 1899 there poured forth from Belloc's pen a veritable stream of works in biography and history. Among them are some notable studies such as his *Richelieu* and *Wolsey* which were published in 1930, and both of which have recently been reprinted.

There was no doubt that Belloc wrote history with a purpose. At times his bias got the better of him as, for example, his tendency to identify Latin civilization too closely with the Church to the neglect of other strains in European culture. He was likewise often careless of facts, often heedless of the documentary sources of history, and too fond of sweeping generalizations. But there were few men of the twentieth century who understood better the roots from which European civilization had sprung, and there can be little doubt that the historiography of our day is far closer in many of its interpretations to Belloc than before he began to write. Monsignor Ronald Knox had justification, therefore, when he remarked in his tribute in *The Tablet* (London) of July 25: "The historians who complained of his inaccuracy were all the time modifying their own estimate, correcting their own data, and we are nearer the truth than we would have been if Belloc had not played the gad-fly, like Socrates, to sting them into better habits." Interpretative studies like *The Servile State* (1912) and *Europe and the Faith* (1920) drew the fire of critics, but they were so brilliantly written, so boldly conceived, and so logically developed that they could not be ignored, and in the end they provoked a healthy discussion of historical interpretation that added to the enlightment of many a student.

As a writer Belloc had few equals in his use of the English language. In 1941 a large group of English literary men gathered at a dinner at the Savoy Hotel in London to celebrate his seventy-first birthday. The dean of English literary critics, Desmond McCarthy, was the chairman of that dinner, and it was no idle compliment when he declared that he could think of no other English writer—with the possible exception of Defoe—who showed a virtuosity and an unerring sense of style equal to Belloc's. It was that magnificent prose which made the characters of his many biographies come alive for readers and which likewise invested his histories with the air of a majestic pageant passing before one's eyes. His tremendous sense of visual imagery and awareness of the living continuity and relevance of history were part of the spirit which inspired an English prose stylist that was virtually unsurpassed in our time.

Hilaire Belloc visited the United States on a number of occasions for lecture tours, and in 1937 he was visiting professor of history in Fordham University. He was made a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great by Pope Pius XI and received the honorary M.A. from Oxford in 1934. He shared with Sir Winston Churchill the distinction of being the only two living men whose portraits were hung in the National Gallery. In all that he wrote in history and biography, he kept before him the claims of the Catholic Church as the chief molder of European civilization. To many professional historians this made Belloc a mere partisan and apologist. Magnificent apologist he certainly was, but it would be dishonoring his memory to characterize him solely as that. He understood as few did how much harm had been done to the Church through "official" histories, and he made it one of the principal aims of his life to right the balance. In doing so at times he went too far, but he restored a measure of justice that had long been lacking, and in his valiant struggle to establish that ideal he knew no compromise. In 1926 Belloc published a little volume entitled *The Catholic Church and History,* and the closing sentence of that book epitomized much that he had stood for during his long and stormy career as a writer of history. After summing up his arguments for the authenticity of the Church's claims, he said: "Such and such alone is the Catholic Church. If it be not what it claims to be, then all is void."

September 8 of this year marked the centennial of the death of Frederic Ozanam. Few Catholic laymen of modern times made a greater contribution to the welfare of their fellowmen than this young Frenchman who was trained as a lawyer and spent the last of his brief forty years of life as a professor of historical literature. He is chiefly remembered, of course, as the founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. It was in May, 1833, that Ozanam and five fellow students of the University of Paris gathered in the office of Emmanuel Joseph Bailly, editor of the *Tribune catholique,* to launch the work to which they made their religious dedication in the Church of St. Etienne du Mont. Their wonderfully effective manner of helping the poor soon attracted numerous imitators and in 1837 the society won the approval of Pope Gregory XVI. Through the zeal of an American Catholic layman, Bryan Mullanphy of St. Louis, who had met Ozanam while a student in Paris, the first conference in the United States was founded in the parish of the old St. Louis Cathedral in November, 1845. All through life Ozanam showed a strong love for history, which he believed to be the best approach for demonstrating the reasonableness and authenticity of the Church's claims. His call to the chair of commercial law at the University of Lyons, his home city, therefore, did not make him nearly as happy as he was in 1844 when he won the chair of historical literature at the University of Paris. He was an inspiring teacher and would doubtless have proved an outstanding scholar if he had not been cut off at so early an age. But the thing for which his memory will always be held in benediction was his charitable enterprises for the poor. That he succeeded far beyond his highest hopes was evident, for within two years after his death in 1853 there were nearly 3,000 conferences of his society spread throughout the Catholic world. Ozanam is buried in the crypt of the Church of the Carmes which serves as the chapel for the students of the Catholic Institute of Paris. His large white marble tomb is close by that of Alfred Cardinal Baudrillart, Rector of the Institute, who died in 1942. There is a wide literature on Ozanam, and one of the most recent items is the able biographical essay of Professor Thomas P. Neill of St. Louis University which he included in his volume, *They Lived the Faith* (Milwaukee, 1951), pp. 145-165; 370-371.

The centennial of St. Mary Help of Christians Parish at Aiken, South Carolina, was celebrated on May 31 with the Most Reverend John J. Russell, Bishop of Charleston, the celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. It was in June, 1853, that Ignatius Reynolds, second Bishop of Charleston, purchased the tract of land in Aiken upon which the parish was begun. An illustrated brochure was compiled by the pastor, Monsignor George Lewis Smith, to commemorate the event.

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